John Colet on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius

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Edited by

Andrew Colin Gow
Edmonton, Alberta

In cooperation with

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Falk Eisermann, Berlin
Berndt Hamm, Erlangen
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Texts & Sources

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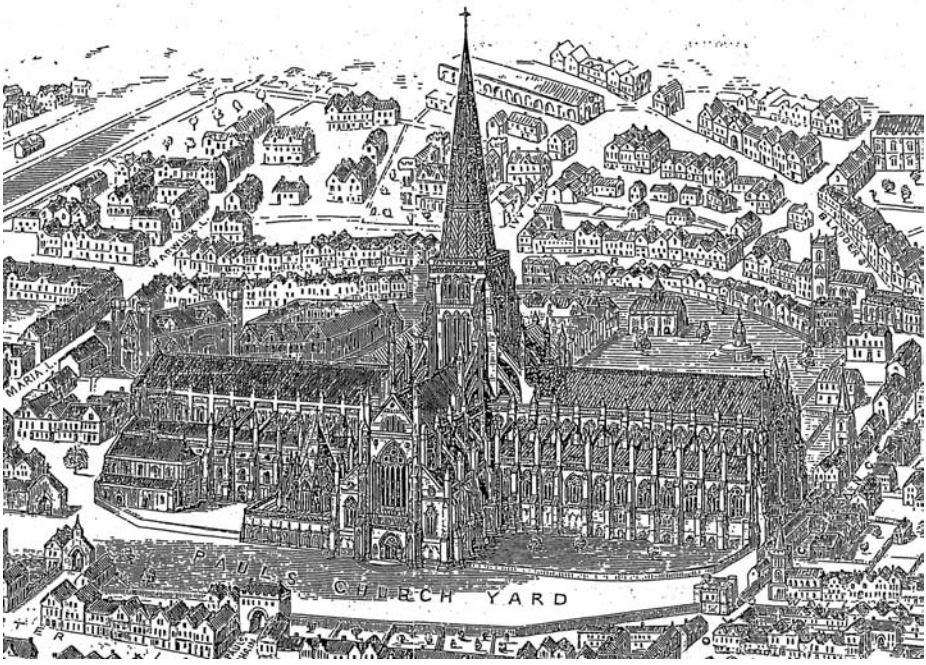

"Old St. Paul's," from Francis Bond's *An Introduction to English Church Architecture from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century* (London: H. Milford, 1913), I. 4.

John Colet on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius

A New Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes

Introduction, Annotations, and Edited Text by

Daniel T. Lochman

Translation and Comments on Colet's Latin by

Daniel J. Nodes

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Cover illustration: Oil on panel painting, c. 1530, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-1691). Attributed to Aertgen Claesz van Leyden; sometimes titled *De roeping van Sint Antonius* (*The Calling of St. Anthony*), although the specific subject and original title remain uncertain.

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To the memory of Catherine A.L. Jarrott
&
To Thomas L. Sheridan, S.J.

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PREFACE

This book is dedicated to the memory of two exemplary scholars and inspiring mentors whom we wish to recall, much as did Desiderius Erasmus when he wrote to Justus Jonas in 1521, bringing to mind the recently deceased John Colet of London, Dean of St. Paul's, and the Observant Franciscan Jean Vitrier.

Professor Catherine A.L. Jarrott completed her dissertation at Stanford University on English humanists' reception of Cicero's *De Officiis*. She later published work that advanced understanding of Desiderius Erasmus, John Colet, and other early modern writers in England and on the continent. She published a number of articles on both Erasmus and Colet, and, during her career at Loyola University in Chicago, she stimulated undergraduate and graduate students' interest in the culture and writings of the Italian Renaissance and its influence in England. Diminutive in size, Professor Jarrott was Herculean in spirit, as she proved by staving off life-threatening cancer long enough to see to completion an annotated edition and translation of Colet's commentary on 1Corinthians. Catherine received an advance copy of the book, the first modern scholarly, critical edition of a work by Colet, in 1985, just a few days prior to her death. Both her teaching and her commitment to scholarly activity were and are inspiring, and her example and learning contribute much to this edition.

Thomas L. Sheridan, S.J. is professor emeritus of theology in St. Peter's University. His four decades on the faculty have included seventeen years of leadership as head of the theology department. The occasion of this book's publication also marks the seventieth year of membership in the Jesuit order for Fr. Sheridan, who entered the novitiate in 1944 and has been a priest for fifty-seven years. Fr. Sheridan received the doctorate in sacred theology from the Institut Catholique de Paris in 1965. He is the translator in collaboration with Avery Cardinal Dulles of an influential commentary on Aquinas' treatment of prophecy, and he addressed a central item of the development of Reformation history in a study of the development of John Henry Newman's thought on justification. This was followed some years later by favorable comparison of Newman's and Luther's thought on that subject. In the classroom through his courses in systematic theology and on Protestant thought, he was a provocative examiner of his students' understanding of the relationship between life and worship, ever ready

and able to embody the principle of the theological life as faith seeking understanding. A strong critic of defective theology that arises when an age loses sight of the importance of the symbolic, Fr. Sheridan, like John Colet, taught how God reaches us and we reach God through human realities, human gestures. He taught, for example, that "we need to hear ourselves confessing our sins-this is our great gesture of sorrow and repentance-as well as hearing God's word of forgiveness spoken by the priest." Following his retirement from the classroom in 1999, Fr. Tom devoted much of his time to ministering to immigrants in federal detention, sharing with Colet a life as a reformer, if by reformer one means one who transposes the sublime message of Christian theology into thought and action for the benefit of all.

This edition and translation began in earnest in 2000, following efforts dating to 1990 that involved locating, examining, and reproducing the extant manuscripts of all Colet's works. Still farther back are studies aimed at understanding the contexts and purposes of John Colet's works. During this long preparation, the project has been aided in many ways—materially by support from the administration and library at Texas State University and, more specifically, by the support of Deans Ann Marie Ellis and Michael Hennessy.

A project that extends over many years inevitably owes much to many who cannot be named here. We wish to acknowledge the following for their particularly significant contributions. Of assistance in the early stages of the edition and translation were the extensive comments and suggestions of the late J.B. Trapp of the Warburg Institute, as well as those of Earnest Kaulbach of the University of Texas at Austin. Misty Schieberle, now at the University of Kansas, helped with transcription of the manuscripts. The staff of the British Library, St. Paul's School in London, and the libraries at Texas State University and the University of Texas at Austin helped produce and obtain needed microfilms of the mansucripts. The introduction has been improved due to the careful reading and thoughtful comments of Hannah Chappelle Wojciehowski of the University of Texas at Austin, Edgar Laird of Texas State University, and Jonathan Arnold of Oxford University. Peter Iver Kaufman of the University of Richmond, the late John B. Gleason of the University of San Francisco, and Robert Kimbrough of the University of Wisconsin-Madison have, at various times, offered comment and discussion that helped make coherent the many seemingly disparate elements that affect Colet's comments on Dionysius—the mingling of an esoteric tradition of Christian history with Galenic elaborations upon the trope of the mystical body; a syncretic joining of the Kaballah with an Augustinian slant on religious history; the uniting of the theologies of Dionysius and St. Paul; the

harmonizing of Neoplatonic emanationism with the doctrine of original sin; the conjoining of ideas of a perfected church, clergy, and sacraments to the pragmatic realities of bureaucratic administration and human corruption. We also thank the series editors of the Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, particularly Andrew Colin Gow and Falk Eisermann. As was experienced during the publication of Giles of Viterbo's *Sentences* commentary earlier in this series, the series editors have again been supportive as we completed a long scholarly project involving textual criticism and a complex intellectual history. We claim as our own all errors that remain.

We recognize also the patience and encouragement of the Lochman and Nodes families, especially the support of Alice Lochman and the assistance of Jennifer Nodes, Director of the Library in Ave Maria University, in procuring artwork.

INTRODUCTION

CONTEXTS OF COLET AND DIONYSIUS

Daniel T. Lochman

Need for a New Edition

The first printed edition of Colet's work on Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* appeared in 1867, when the Victorian authority on early sixteenth century English writers, J.H. Lupton, writing in the wake of the influential Frederic Seebohm and the introduction of the idea of "Oxford Reformers," followed his 1867 publication in Latin only of Colet's *A Treatise on the Sacraments of the Church* (*De sacramentis ecclesiae*) with an English translation and Latin text of what he called Colet's "treatises" on the *Celestial* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies*. A remarkably able, learned, and productive scholar given limited access to libraries and research tools, Lupton relied for his transcript on the only version known to him, the one housed to this day at St. Paul's School (Lupton, *Two Treatises* xiv). Lupton speculated that the St. Paul's manuscript of the commentaries on the *Hierarchies* was one among those writings "in parchement" Colet bequeathed in his will of 22 August 1519 (xiii) but apparently did not know of a separate manuscript of the Dionysian commentaries, the copy-text for the present edition now housed in the British Library.[1] J.B. Trapp's 1976 census of Colet-related materials

[1] J.B. Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts and the Pseudo-Dionysius" describes the St. Paul's MS as a "later transcript on paper" of the British Library MS. It includes the same headings but not the marginal annotations in the still unknown, so-called "red-annotating hand": "It was presented to the school in 1759 by a pupil, Robert Emmot, and bears the signature of Peter Fanwood, probably from the end of the sixteenth century" (215–216; see also Lupton's 1876 census of Colet MSS in *Opuscula quaedam theologica*, Appendix, 311, Number 17). Trapp correctly notes the defective state of the St. Paul's School MS, which lacks three leaves. For his edition, Lupton turned to the paper Cambridge University Library copy of the *Celestial Hierarchy* as the source for two missing leaves but, lacking another witness for the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, merely noted the omission in a footnote (218, CEH 1.198). Although the British Library MS (formerly known as the Duke of Leeds MS) could have been known to Lupton before or after its first mention in the 1888 Report of Historical Manuscripts

identified two additional contemporary manuscripts of the commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy*. One, MS Gg.iv.26 at Cambridge University Library, has corrections, additions, and annotations in Colet's hand, and the other contains also the treatise on the sacraments (*De sacramentis ecclesiae*) and the commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. This latter manuscript, now known as British Library Add. 63853, is in the hand of the scribe Colet and Erasmus often employed, the "one-eyed" Peter Meghen of Bois-le-Duc in Brabant. Its provenance includes ownership by William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520–1598), with his garter arms granted in 1574 stamped on the sixteenth-century, leather-over-boards binding. At some later point, the manuscript came into the possession of the House of Leeds, whence it was transferred to the British Library as Loan 55(2) prior to receiving its present access number at the close of the twentieth century.[2] The manuscript certainly dates from Colet's lifetime since it bears corrections in his hand (through folio i4^{r}) and it includes a folio leaf lacking in the St. Paul's School MS (c4; e2^{r}–e4^{v} in the British Library MS). The British Library MS contains numerous substantive and non-substantive variants from both the St. Paul's School MS and Lupton's edition. A generally careful editor and translator, Lupton sometimes silently introduced variants not found in either MS, and his attention to orthography and mechanics occasionally flagged.

During a conversation at the Courtauld Institute in London in 2004, the late J.B. Trapp praised the Victorian cadences of Lupton's translation of Colet's stylized Neo-Latin; this translation has been of great value to the present editor and translator. Lupton's editions do not, of course, take into account the linguistic, historical, and cultural scholarship of the subsequent 150 years. Lupton's transcriptions and translations are sometimes inaccurate or questionable, and, though Lupton's periods often rise to near-scriptural dignity and grace, they are sometimes difficult to follow (due in large part to the occasional complexity and extent of Colet's balanced periods, some including elliptical structures seemingly designed to convey rhetorical intensity). Although Lupton's editions of Colet's works are in the public domain and may be found on the web and in print facsimiles,

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Commission, he never acknowledged it, his edition of the *Hierarchies* having appeared earlier in 1869. Trapp wrote of the MS that became BL that, as the "fullest and most authoritative text, it must form the basis of any edition" (218).

[2] On the provenance of the British Library MS and others in the "collected edition," as well as other information on Colet's writings and associated texts, see Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More: The Early Tudor Humanists and Their Books* (London: British Library, 1991), 79–141.

copies of Lupton's books, including the *Hierarchies*, are scarce and difficult to locate, as is the Gregg Press reprint of 1966 and 1968.[3]

The present edition focuses on Colet's commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* because it includes, along with much else, expansive digressions from and adaptations of the source, and these reveal many of the writer's perspectives on religion and sixteenth-century culture, in connection to the foundations of the Tudors and their intellectual, political, and religious efforts at outreach to and alienation from the continent. It provides evidence of Colet's fascination with the strangeness of Dionysius's apophatic and cataphatic methods (that is, negative and positive ways of speaking about and approaching ineffable divinity), as well as the Dionysian hermeneutic, hierarchies, and rituals. It also demonstrates Colet's acceptance of essential principles relating to divine order and action and significant alterations and adaptations of Dionysius's hierarchic structures and dynamic principles. Colet develops a distinctive approach to Dionysius's writings—one resulting from his unique synthesis of Pauline and Neoplatonic theology, and from the effects of that synthesis on ideas of church hierarchy and the sacraments. As we shall see, Colet's reading of Dionysius, which requires fixing one's mind at once on Christian ideals and on the realities of an earthly church, stands apart from the medieval scholastic, contemplative, and Neoplatonic traditions that preceded it. More immediately, Colet's comments display indebtedness to and independence from his apparent Latin source, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples' edition (published in Paris, February 6, 1498/1499) of the 1480 printing of Ambrosius Traversarius's translation and scholia, which in turn had been published as a manuscript in the 1430s.[4] All together, the text offers insight into Colet's uniquely stamped

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[3] See BiblioLife Reproductions for print facsimiles. Lupton's editions are available online at Google eBooks.

[4] Eugene F. Rice's review of Sears Jayne's *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (*Renaissance News* 17.2 [Summer 1964], 108) first cites evidence that Colet used the 1498/1499 rather than the 1480 edition of Traversarius's Latin translation of Dionysius or earlier versions in Latin since Hilduin, including ones by John Scotus, Hugh of St. Victor, and Albertus Magnus. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet, and More*, 103–108, 131 discusses Colet's use of Lefèvre d'Etaples's edition of Traversarius, "a common book everywhere" at the close of the fifteenth century (106). Charles Trinkaus notes that the respected humanist translator Giannozzo Manetti in the *Apologeticus* (c. 1455) for his translation from Hebrew of the Psalms praised Traversarius's translation of the Dionysian corpus as one example of "contemporary translations improving upon older, more literal ones which lost the sense of metaphors and figures of speech" (*In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* [Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1970], 2. 596). On Traversarius, see Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany, NY: SUNY P, 1977).

soteriology, spiritual psychology, Christology, and ecclesiology as well as his response to issues of church and state.

Trapp has noted that of Colet's manuscripts the only one independently recopied during the sixteenth century was the commentary on the *Hierarchies*. The British Library MS gives witness to at least one other engaged reader of the sixteenth century, whose numerous marginal comments are identified by Trapp as those of the "red annotating hand."[5] Given the complex motives for attributing or denying authority to Dionysius in the sixteenth century—with Luther opposed to what had become a prop for papal governance and Catholics from Josse Clichtove through Robert Bellarmine in favor largely for the same reason, while Valla, Erasmus and others played the role of academic skeptics—it is easy to agree with Trapp that the "apostolicity" of Dionysius had important implications for "church government," with the worrisome problems raised by the ecclesiastical hierarchy taking center stage unlike the more distant, cerebral, celestial orders that had been the focus of medieval commentators. Trapp called for a new edition of Colet's comments on the *Hierarchies* as a means of setting the "corner-stone of the English section" of the story of the reception of Dionysius by early modern writers.[6] Colet wrote at one peak of interest in Dionysius's thought and the world it represented. Traces of the order and action Dionysius described—as well as some of Colet's unique variations—survived in the later writings of Catholics in England, such as Thomas Linacre, Richard Pace, and Thomas Starkey. More generally, Colet's preoccupation, like Dionysius's, to preserve the place of divine order and action in the midst of a fallen, corrupt world resonates far into the future, to Milton in *Paradise Lost* and beyond.

At the conclusion of a recent book on Colet, Jonathan Arnold, like Trapp, asserted the need for new, more accurate and available editions and translations of the several works still available only in Lupton's Victorian editions, including the commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.[7] The present edition hopes to address one part of this need.

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[5] On this holograph, thought by M.R. James to be Cuthbert Tunstal's (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1911], 187), see Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet, and More* 108–109. Trapp doubts the identification based on comparison with other specimens.

[6] Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts and the Ps.-Dionysius" 220–221; elsewhere he writes that the present work and the *Celestial Hierarchy*, of all Colet's works, are "most badly in need of a new edition" (*Erasmus, Colet, and More* 108).

[7] *Dean John Colet* 184.

John Colet (1467–1519)

Sometime in the 1490s, John Colet likely encountered first-hand the writings of Dionysius, known also as the Areopagite, either during a period of study on the continent or upon his return to England. Given Colet's reputation for stern idealism, one may find it surprising to think of this future Dean of St. Paul's steeping himself in the nuances of Dionysian hierarchies, questioning the history and nature of sacred rituals, and following these to even more esoteric theories connecting a secret oral tradition in Christianity to Kabbalism and other mysteries that had earlier prompted the interest of Pico della Mirandola, before Pope Innocent VIII questioned the orthodoxy of his *900 Theses* and before he assumed a more restrained Christianity thereafter. Yet, as Colet's comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* demonstrate, this esoteric strand supports a perception of a dangerous rift between ancient and contemporary ecclesiastical practices and values. The recognition of that divergence feeds Colet's forceful assertions of the need to actualize the personal and social ideals that inform his idea of a Christian *ratio vivendi*.

John Colet was born in January 1467 to a wealthy London family that resided in St. Antholin parish, on Watling Street.[8] His father, Sir Henry Colet (c. 1430–1505) had established a place for himself in London, following his move from his family's rural roots in Wendover, Buckinghamshire. Once in London, Henry rose rapidly to become a master of the Mercers' Company in 1473, beginning the first of five terms in that position. Just as John would have begun study at university—after 1480—Henry acquired increasing political influence and wealth in the company and city. About six years later, he began the first of two terms as lord mayor of London. John's mother, Dame Christian Knyvet (d. 1523), was the eldest daughter in an established family whose lands were centered in Huntingdonshire and Buckenham Castle, Norfolk. Married to Henry circa 1465, Christian bore at least twenty

[8] The biographical sketch that follows is not intended to take the place of a rigorous study of Colet's life but to provide a context for readers unfamiliar with Colet. A full-scale update of Colet's biography is lacking, but crucial to it, in addition to the accounts in Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, ed. Denys Hay (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950) and Erasmus's correspondence, especially the letter to Justus Jonas, in CW and Allen, ed., are the following: Samuel Knight, *The Life of Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's in the Reigns of K. Henry VII. And K. Henry VIII. And Founder of St. Paul's School*, new edition (London: Clarendon P, 1823); J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, D.D.* (London: Bell, 1887); J.B. Trapp, "John Colet" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004); John B. Gleason, *John Colet* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989); and Jonathan Arnold, *Dean John Colet of St. Paul's: Humanism and Reform in Early Tudor England* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

children, of whom only John survived past the year 1503. Both parents must have suffered enormously from the early deaths of so many children. Yet, as a leading family among London's growing ranks of wealthy tradesmen, they prospered, with Henry eventually currying favor with King Henry VII by guaranteeing funds for England to support the Magnus Intercursus, a trade agreement with the Netherlands. With his considerable wealth, Henry acquired and maintained extensive holdings in Buckinghamshire, Colchester, Stepney, and elsewhere in and around London.

The wealth and influence of Henry and Christian presumably contributed to their interest in the education of their son. Unlike his older brother Richard, whose name disappears from archives after 1503 but seemed to have been groomed to follow his father's interest in business, John, according to Polydore Vergil, early displayed the holy and religious nature that led him to divine studies. Following a grammar school education much like that of other children in the families of Mercers (either at St. Antholin's Hospital on Threadneedle Street or the hospital school of St. Thomas of Acon), John is presumably the "John Colet" later recorded as a questionist in Lent term at Cambridge University in 1485, a title given prior to completing a BA. In 1488 he is recorded in Cambridge's Grace Books as incepting for the MA. After completing the masters in arts, he would have been required to continue at Cambridge as a "necessary regent" or lecturer, probably from 1488 to 1490.

John followed his studies in the arts with a tour of the continent. He traveled to Paris and Orléans, with the legist François Deloynes writing to Erasmus in 1516 about his studies with Colet there years earlier. In the fall of 1492, he was in Rome, whence he addressed a letter to Christopher Urswick and took up residence in the English Hospice, a hospital catering to Englishmen resident in Rome and a more-or-less temporary residence for those traveling and studying in Italy. We have no record of his travels in Italy outside Rome, but in March 1493 he enrolled himself, his parents, and his brother Richard in the *Fraternitas Sancti Spiritus et Sanctae Mariae de Urbe* and on 3 May 1493 he enrolled as a *confrater* of the English Hospice. Whatever Colet's experiences in Rome might have been or the length of his stay prior to his return to England (this latter confirmed by a reply to a letter from Desiderius Erasmus during the latter's first visit to England in 1499), he would have had the opportunity to participate in a network of other English *confrateres* of the Hospice who were to figure in his life after his return to England: in addition to Urswick (enrolled 11 June 1486), other registrants at the Hospice dating close to Colet's enrollment included the future Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham; the future headmaster of Colet's St. Paul's School, William Lily; and his friend Thomas Linacre (all enrolled 3 May 1490). He

probably would have met there the future Archbishop of York and Cardinal, Christopher Bainbridge (enrolled 30 January 1493). Other enrollees prominent in Colet's England included two Italians who were to become clerical officials in England, Silvestro Gigli and Adriano Castellesi (1499), and other Englishmen: Colet's friend Richard Charnoke (1501); Reginald Pole's future tutor William Latimer; and Colet's younger friend and successor as Dean of St. Paul's, Richard Pace (both enrolled in 1511).[9] Though there is no evidence, Colet is often thought to have visited Florence while in Italy. There he might have encountered the works and perhaps the persons of Pico and Marsilio Ficino (with whom he corresponded); and there is a good chance that he traveled to other parts of Italy, including Bologna, Padua, and other centers of learning that attracted English students and visitors. It is possible that his interest in the esoteric tradition, including the writings of Dionysius and to a lesser extent the oral esoteric tradition of the Jewish Kabbalah studied by Pico and Henry Cornelius Agrippa, was inspired by his encounter in Italy with works such as Pico's *Apologia* (1487) or *Oratione de hominis dignitate* (1496); a passage found in both of Pico's books appears nearly verbatim in Colet's comments on the human hierarchy (CEH 5.1—see below). Either in Italy or afterwards, Colet acquired the copy of Marsilio Ficino's *Epistolae* (1495) that he copiously annotated and that is extant today in All Souls College Library, Oxford.[10]

The date of Colet's return remains uncertain, but he was probably back in England by 1496; thereafter, he may have begun the studies that led to a bachelor's in divinity at Oxford. Along the way, he was ordained a deacon in 1497 and priest in 1498. In 1499, Erasmus corresponded with Colet and met him in England, the two beginning the enduring but complex friendship recorded in twenty-three letters prior to Colet's death in 1519 and in some beyond, like the one in 1521 from Erasmus to Justus Jonas, which eulogizes the French monk Jean Vitrier along with Colet. By 1504, Colet completed a doctorate in divinity at Oxford, although his residence during the period is uncertain—perhaps he resided at Oxford throughout but perhaps also in London or at one or more locations associated with the several benefices whose incomes he had acquired by this time, probably to support his education. He received the most lucrative of these in 1499 as

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[9] Brian Newns, "The Hospice of St. Thomas and the English Crown 1474–1538," *The English Hospice in Rome*, *The Venerabile Sexcentenary Issue* 21 (May 1962), Appendix 26, 190–192.

[10] Annotations printed in Sears Jayne, *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1963).

vicar of St. Dunstan's in Stepney, the church being located near properties then held by his father and a position that had been a stepping-stone to clerical advancement, especially in London.

In 1505, St. Paul's Chapter (consisting of the canons of the cathedral church) elected John Colet as its dean. He seems to have begun residence in London around 1505, having been invited the previous year in a letter from a twenty-six-year old, recently trained jurist and friend, Thomas More, to return to London to serve as the city's spiritual physician: More writes that Colet is needed due to the city's ill health.[11] Presumably, Colet's rapid rise to the position of Dean owed much to the influence of his father Henry and the King's good will, and these external influences upon his election, together with Colet's penchant to require those clergy beneath and above him to live up to the ideals of spiritual order and action they professed—a seriousness of purpose evident also in his comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*—contributed to friction with the clergy at St. Paul's during his long tenure as Dean. Jonathan Arnold has pointed to possible conflicts between the Dean and the chapter and minor clergy attached to the cathedral (choristers, poor clergy, and chantry priests) as evidence both of Colet's strong-minded efforts to improve what he perceived as lax attention to duties and improper behaviors—in opposition to the divine order and action of the church Dionysius outlined—and the ill success of his efforts at reform of the local clergy, who apparently perceived his abstemious strictures on their behaviors and new limits imposed on hospitality (food and drink then ordinarily provided to the minor clergy by a cathedral dean) as excessive. Colet's efforts to impose new regulations on activities and limits on traditional hospitality apparently failed, both early in his deanship (1506) and late (1518).[12]

The complaints of the minor clergy under his direction seem to have played into the interests of the Bishop of London (1506–1522), Richard Fitzjames, whose London residence sat directly adjacent to St. Paul's Cathedral and its Chapter House. Gleason suggests that the relationship of Fitzjames and Colet need not be envisioned as always antagonistic, since until around 1512 they collaborated on a number of administrative projects concerning the diocese, the Cathedral, and its newly re-founded school. But correspondence between Colet and Erasmus suggests that their relationship had

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[11] Daniel Lochman, "Between Country and City: John Colet, Thomas More, and Early Modern Perceptions of London," *Literary London: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Representation of London* 4.1 (2006), sections 1–28. Web.

[12] *Dean John Colet of St. Paul's: Humanism and Reform in Early Tudor England*, 65–87, 157–177.

eroded badly by 1513 or 1514, and Erasmus reports in the 1521 letter to Jonas that Fitzjames allied himself with two unnamed bishops to draw up charges of heresy. Allegedly, Colet had voiced the Lollard idea that "images were not to be adored"; had violated the "duty of hospitality," with an apparent reference to the above-mentioned practice of restricting "temporal sustenance" to the minor clergy; and had criticized Fitzjames indirectly by speaking out against clergy who read their sermons rather than preaching with oratorical skill.[13] These charges apparently came to nothing, as did a potentially even more serious plot Erasmus also recounts in the letter to Jonas—an effort, apparently in 1513, by two unnamed Minorite bishops (presumably Edmund Birkhead and Henry Standish) to undermine Colet by repeating at court his reference in a sermon to Cicero's principle that an unjust peace is preferable to a just war, a position at odds with Henry VIII's military expedition that was setting England, along with Katherine of Aragon's father, Ferdinand, against France. Colet was summoned to an interview with the king, but according to Erasmus his enemies were dismayed when Henry privately gave his support to the Dean, even offering to suppress the opponents (an offer Colet resisted) and encouraging him "not to desist from using his learning freely to come to the rescue of a generation whose standards were so badly corrupted and not to deprive an age of such thick darkness of his peculiar light."[14] How accurate this paraphrase may be from Erasmus, writing an encomium eight years after the fact, is uncertain, but the episode offers a useful segue to the follow-up, wherein Colet, in a sermon preached on Good Friday (25 March 1513), was said to have turned to the subject of Christian warfare, asserting both the difficulty of dying a good Christian death in the warfare against evil and an admonition that Christians "ought to imitate Christ their King rather than characters like Julius and Alexander"—in one swipe, commenting here on the unseemly ambitions of secular and papal rulers alike, Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great on one side and Pope Julius II and Pope Alexander VI on the other. This time, Erasmus wrote, the king himself feared "the sermon might demoralize the soldiers whom he was leading into battle," so Colet was called to dinner with Henry at the palace at Greenwich. According to Erasmus, the king first attempted to relieve Colet of any fear and pledged his interest in hearing his views in order to allay his own "scruples" about warfare, but he managed to convey that Colet must take a future

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[13] Gleason, *John Colet*, 235–244; S. Thompson, "Richard Fitzjames," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 3 February 2013. Web.

[14] CW, 8. 242; Allen, Ep. 1211.

opportunity to convey publicly the "true" opinions he had disclosed so that "the unlettered soldiery" would not interpret the sermon "in a sense he had not intended—that for Christians there can never be a just war." Erasmus continued by highlighting Colet's final triumph, with the Dean appearing with Henry after the conference and, to the frustration of a "crowd of courtiers" hungry for Colet's fall, the King proclaiming, "To every man his own teacher, and let each man back up the teacher of his choice. This is the teacher for me." Erasmus's representation of the King's veiled warning in private and Colet's public vindication before his enemies suggests both the triumph of Colet's conviction and a recognition of political reality: "Colet, being a sensible man and a man of singularly well-balanced mind, not only satisfied the king but increased the king's original esteem for him."[15]

The incidents with Fitzjames and Henry VIII both highlight Colet's rhetorical skill. He could bring to his public oratory and private conversation the ability to shift from exposition to admonition and back that is on display with vigor in the comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. Colet's reputation for publicly speaking truth to power in the 1510s seems to have had its beginning with a sermon delivered before Convocation and printed by Richard Pynson in 1511. A platform for critiques of clerical corruption and abuse that are echoed in many of his writings, including the text presented here, Colet's sermon on Romans 12:2 ("Do not be conformed to this word, but be transformed by the renewing of your minds") addressed the assembled clerics and attacked various forms of clerical corruption as well as long-standing complaints such as investiture and simony. What seems especially significant in the sermon is less its substance, which had been often repeated in many forms, than the rhetorical circumstance of its appearance at a time of rising tension between the laity and clergy in London. Anxiety is evident in the text of the sermon as well as in local incidents such as the Hunne affair, which pitted the interests of London's clergy against those of the laity (described below), and the sermon's resonance to contemporaries is evident in its quick dissemination in print, first in Latin (by Pynson, 1511?) and later in English (by Thomas Bertelet, circa 1530–1531). Although Gleason felt confident enough to assert that Colet "was Wolsey's man" due to his preaching at the Archbishop of York's installation as cardinal in 1515 and their common interest in removing the aging William Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury, an extant summary of Colet's sermon for Wolsey, delivered at Wesminster, suggests that Colet may have taken the occasion to

[15] CW, 8.243; Allen, Ep. 1211.

emphasize the ideal the new cardinal must live up to—the ideal of fiery love of the Seraphim—much as Colet had directed the clerical audience's attention to the ideals of reform that many in attendance had failed to maintain. Although Wolsey may have subsequently had a hand in placing Colet on the king's Royal Council (sometime between December 1515 and 18 June 1517), our lack of evidence of the process of selection to the Council prevents an easy assumption that the appointment was Wolsey's *quid pro quo*.[16] The limited evidence afforded by extant sermons or summaries of them, together with the rhetorical character of his writings, suggests that Colet acquired considerable influence in the 1510s due primarily to his passionate articulation of his views on the church and society and, importantly, his ability to defend them when they were attacked. In his sermons, the resonance of powerful language presumably echoed all the way from the commoners assembled in the nave of St. Paul's up to the highest members of England's religious and political networks.

Colet's exercise of rhetoric conforms to his passionately held beliefs and seems related to his determination, beginning around 1508, to use the ample estate inherited from his father to re-found St. Paul's School as a grammar school. In this effort, Colet funded construction of a new school building on the grounds of St. Paul's Cathedral; established governing statutes; hired a master, surmaster, and later a chaplain; and provided a perspective that privileged the pristine Latin of the classics and early church in contrast to its later corrupt forms. In the statutes, Colet asserted that students at the school were to learn the purified Latin exemplified classically in the writings of Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, and Terence, although these non-Christian models were to be mediated in the curriculum by Christian writers who affected classical style: Lactantius, Prudentius, Proba, Sedulius, Juvencus, and Baptista Mantuanus. In these post-classical authors Colet saw traces of the "veray Romayne eliquence" that he wished to be "joyned with wisdome[,] specially Cristyn auctors that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose," in accord with his "entent … by thys scole specially to increase knowlege and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff, and maners in the Children."[17] Details related to the founding of the school go well beyond the interests of this study, but it should be noted that Colet's innovations included appointing lay Mercers to oversee the cathedral school's operations and accounts; hiring William

[16] Gleason 244–249.
[17] Lupton, *A Life* 279.

Lily—learned (unlike Colet) in Greek as well as Latin—as first headmaster after Erasmus politely declined the position; and sponsoring textbooks such as Erasmus's *De copia* (1512) and supplements to Lily's Latin syntax, *Rudimenta*, Colet having selected the latter over Thomas Linacre's more conventional text: this Erasmus-Lily syntax appeared regularly, along with Colet's Latin accidence, the *Aeditio* (ca. 1509), in printed editions with supplements into the nineteenth century. Although nothing in the establishment of the school directly relates to the writings of Dionysius, Colet displays a parallel interest in turning to the early church and its closest adherents as a means to discover the purer forms of thought, language, behavior, and belief that contrast with the corrupt forms witnessed in his time.

After contracting a first bout of sweating sickness in 1517, Colet subsequently experienced others, along with other medical complications, leading to his death on 16 September 1519. Colet's legacy survives in St. Paul's School, in his reputation for firm if sometimes overstrong conviction as well as stirring rhetorical performance, and in his extant Latin writings, including one complete and a second partial commentary on Paul's epistle to the Romans, another on the first epistle to the Corinthians, a fragmentary exposition of the hexameron (*Letters to Radulphus*), a brief treatise on the mystical body and precepts for lay Christians titled *A Right Fruitful Monition* (1534), to which one may add other ephemeral and questionable writings, as well as, of course, his Dionysian writings.

Colet's Dionysian Writings

The boldness and frequency of Colet's comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* contrast with those on the *Celestial Hierarchy* and his other Dionysian work, *De sacramentis ecclesiae*.

In contrast to the numerous and extensive detours Colet makes from the text of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Colet faithfully summarizes and paraphrases the *Celestial Hierarchy*'s principles of emanated grace, angelic order and activity, these Neoplatonic concepts distinct from the immanent, justifying grace and mediation that Augustine had emphasized and Luther would stress *à propos* of both old and new dispensations. Like the Western church from Augustine to the Reformation, Colet repeats Dionysius's hints of a progressively less opaque symbolism in historical revelation from the pre-Abrahamic to the Mosaic and Christian eras. He draws from Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy* the three-fold divine and angelic activities of purifying, illumining, and perfecting that are said to actualize all nine hierarchic

ranks of angels in their three triadic orders, each rank being accorded a unique hierarchic position and activity. Colet does take almost every opportunity to expand Dionysius's occasional references to Christ as the emanative source of angelic and human activity—expressing admiration that exceeds his source at the glory of God and the Son, the latter frequently figured as *justiciae sol*, the "sun of righteousness," a phrase that lends itself to a synthesis of Neoplatonism and scripture (Malachi 4:2; see CCH 1.167). Colet also attends to Dionysius's occasional allusions to Paul's epistles—references that would appeal to Colet given his confidence that Dionysius learned at the feet of Paul and his interest in merging Neoplatonic and Pauline theology. Colet does append to the Dionysian text an additional chapter or "postscript" that identifies evil not simply as existence below the ranks assigned in the grand hierarchic scheme, whether angelic or human, but in accord with medieval demonology in the West as the existent effect of malevolent spirits actively seducing humankind weakened after the fall and hence the foundation of an inverse hierarchy of sinful men that seeks the overthrow of the human hierarchy.[18]

On the whole, though, Colet's comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy* consist mostly of passive summary and paraphrase, especially when taken in contrast to the extensive and impassioned comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. Therein he frequently digresses from the Dionysian text. He pauses to admire the beauty and wisdom of God in establishing a divine order and allowing lapsed men to participate therein; to lament what

[18] For the enlargement of Christ's role, see CEH 2, which adds a Christian narrative of religious progress from postlapsarian chaos to Mosaic law and Christian spirituality in imitation of Christ on earth, in expectation of humanity's becoming the image of heavenly Jesus (2. 171: "Iesu in celis"). Dionysius occasionally touches on this narrative of Christian history but more typically concentrates on ontology and a hermeneutic rooted in the problems of apophatic and cataphatic discourses for divinity, these latter treated most extensively in *The Divine Names*, a work that Colet never cites but that had dominated the attention of Aquinas and subsequent scholastic theologians. In CEH Colet refers only briefly to the negative and positive ways and then to highlight scripture's use of improbable similitudes that protect what is divine from the profane, a practice he finds particularly necessary under the Mosaic dispensation due to its opaque perception of Christ and truth (2. 172–173). Christ is humanity's perfect ideal, distinct from but participant in his followers. In the supplement to CEH on positive evil and demons, Colet seemingly draws upon Ficino's letter *De raptu Pauli* in the *Epistolae* (Venice: Matteo Capcasa, 1495) to identify traits of God and angels, and he joins close paraphrase of this source to interest in demons in other letters by Ficino and to 1Cor 10:20, glossed also at CCC 10. 210–218. See the fuller description of the supplement below, pp. 326–328, and Trapp, "An English Late Medieval Cleric and Italian Thought: The Case of John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's (1467–1519)," *Medieval English Religious and Ethical Literature: Essays in Memory of G.H. Russell* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), 240–242.

appeared to be the loss over time of ancient apostolic rites and principles of clerical behavior; and to laud what he perceives as the ongoing influence of divine action in the church through the ideals and actions of the heavenly Christ and his Spirit. Whereas Colet's exposition in the commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* is given to summary and occasional praise of God's hand in creation, the mode of exposition in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is often comparative and elegiac—harking back to a lost, apostolic era of religious purity, faith, and love that Dionysius's sixth-century text constructs—or, alternatively, apocalyptic in appeals for divine justice to correct a contemporary church that apparently strayed from providential design.

In these two kinds of reaction to the early church—focused on historical localization or spiritual, anagogic elevation—Colet treads the path of Catholic and Protestant humanist theologians influenced by a hermeneutic of letter and spirit, although the purer forms descending from Origen were usually mediated in the sixteenth century by what Charles Steinmetz terms the "double-literal" interpretation introduced by Nicholas of Lyra: the "literal-historical" (concerned with Biblical narrative) and the "literal-prophetic" (capable of accommodating the supra-literal levels of the fourfold hermeneutic received and developed in the Middle Ages but oriented especially to prophetic spirituality evident not only in Christian readings of Old Testament anticipations of the new dispensation but also in New Testament prophecies of the apocalypse and New Jerusalem).[19] Steinmetz observes that concern for the historical letter (like the passage naming Dionysius in Acts 17) led to mystical, anagogic theology (such as that found in the *corpus dionysiacam*), and that it not only fostered humanists' interest in the patristic era but also induced readers to reevaluate the church in their own time: "new editions of early Christian writings offered theologians in the sixteenth century fresh and exciting sources for the validation and criticism of existing teaching and practices" (253). Colet brings to his comments a diachronic approach that sets the aura of apostolicity that Dionysius had invented against his own critique of rites, doctrine, and ecclesiology in the sixteenth-century.

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[19] "Divided by a Common Past: The Reshaping of the Christian Exegetical Tradition in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27.2 (Spring 1997), 245–264, 249. See also Steinmetz's argument regarding the survival of this exegetical approach through Luther (258), though the latter introduced theological perspectives that differ from Lyra's and Colet's.

The mode and aims of Colet's work on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* also contrast with those of Colet's *De sacramentis ecclesiae*, a work of great interest translated into English for the first time in an appendix to John B. Gleason's study of Colet. Of this work, Gleason writes, "Whatever else the treatise *De Sacramentis* is, it is not in any usual sense a treatise on the sacraments. Of the seven recognized in the late-medieval church, only four are treated at all fully, and it soon appears that even these four appear in function of an argument on a quite different subject, or rather pair of subjects," these latter apparently being the rationale for the creation of the world and the means by which lapsed humanity is returned to union with God (185).[20] Gleason rightly observes that Colet's work is not a handbook on the sacraments, and he identifies crucial themes Colet develops therein, but, in wishing elsewhere to establish *De sacramentis* as an independent treatise, he does not bring out fully its overlapping connections to the *Hierarchies*, particularly the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.[21]

Simply put, Dionysius's extensive treatment of three "sacraments" in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (baptism, communion, and the consecration of oils), with the third being what medieval theologians identified as a lower-ranking "sacramental" practice rather than one of the canonical seven, demanded explanation beyond what could be offered in comments on Dionysius's text.[22] Dionysius's triad of sacraments, set in the highest ecclesiastical position, supersedes hierarchic leaders selected and consecrated for ecclesiastical office and enacting perfection in human form. In the course of his work Dionysius alluded to rites possibly congruent with confirmation, penance or reconciliation, holy orders, and extreme unction, but these,

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[20] Gleason's Latin and first English version of *De sacramentis ecclesiae* (hereafter, SE) in *John Colet* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989), Appendix 1, 270–333. As indicated above, Lupton published only the Latin text of SE.

[21] Gleason describes SE as Colet's "only surviving original treatise" (185).

[22] According to Henri Leclerq, from the time of Peter Lombard *sacramentalia* had come to be associated with rites or ceremonies sanctioned by the church but not by the New Testament and not considered productive of sanctifying grace by virtue of the rite or substance employed (*ex opera operato*) ("Sacramentals," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* [New York: Appleton, 1912], XIII. Web. 19 Oct. 2012). In *Summa Theologica* II, q. CVIII, a. 2 and III. q. lxv, a. 1, Aquinas followed Lombard's distinction between sacraments and sacramentals. In *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (I. vii) William Durandus (ca. 1237–1296) treated consecrations and unctions after identification of the significance of physical features of the church, dedications of it and the altar and just before what he distinguishes as "ecclesiastical sacraments" (I. ix). At I.viii. 23, he refers to unction as a *sacramentum* that signifies more clearly in the New Testament than the Old but does not include it in subsequent discussion of *ecclesiastica sacramenta* (ed. A. Davril and Y.M. Thibodeau [Turnholt: Brepols, 1995], I. 97–119).

whatever their later status as sacraments, are in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* subsidiary, evidently subordinate even to the consecration of oils. For instance, what appears to be a rite of confirmation is mentioned in relation to the more central, purifying and illuminating sacrament of baptism. Interestingly, Colet's reading of Dionysius put him in touch, probably unwittingly, with sixth-century rites in the East—where to this day Orthodox Christians administer these three sacraments to new-borns, a variation from Western practice Colet finds worthy to note due to its significance for infants' participation in the mystical body.[23] Perhaps Dionysius's deviations from later Western theories of the sacraments contributed to medieval scholastics' less frequent citation of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, in contrast to the *Divine Names* and *Celestial Hierarchy*.[24] Notably, Dionysius ignores marriage altogether, an omission that encourages Colet to develop a lengthy explanation of its absence, interpreting the rite in *De sacramentis* as the material and fleshly—hence subordinate—image of spiritual marriage, which he in turn identifies with both the sacrament of holy orders and the mystical union of the feminine church as a community with Christ as its spouse—an anagogical reading consistent with Dionysius's hermeneutics. This reading of fleshly marriage is consonant also with the medieval practice of setting some of the seven sacraments—usually baptism, communion, and holy orders—above the others as regards efficacy and the infusion of grace. In *De sacramentis*, as Gleason has emphasized, Colet's assertion of the subordination of marriage to holy orders is undiluted and in marked contrast to more sympathetic views of marital union expressed by some humanists, especially Erasmus in *Christiani matrimonii institutio*. It verges toward the extreme in statements such as "Christ's holy church, being entirely spiritual, needs only spiritual marriage and spiritual engendering of offspring in our husband Jesus Christ" (SE 5. 313). Yet, with apparent inconsistency, Colet sometimes backs away from the view that the material world and human nature, created by a good God, is essentially corrupt, being afflicted instead with a

[23] CEH 2. 3; cf. DEH 2. 2. 7 (PG 3. 396B–D).

[24] The *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* was less frequently referenced in scholastic literature than other Dionysian writings. Although Thomas Aquinas cites Dionysius more than 1,700 times, fewer than two hundred references (11.5%) are to DEH. Aquinas cites DEH 4 (on the consecration of oil) only ten times in all his works, DEH 2 (on baptism) twenty-six times, and DEH 3 (on the eucharist), thirty-one times. In contrast, he cites DEH 5 (on consecration of the clergy) sixty-three times, perhaps due to its structure for a clerically dominant human hierarchy. See J. Durantel, *Saint Thomas et le Pseudo-Denis* (Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan, 1919) 262–264; K.F. Doherty, "St. Thomas and the Pseudo-Dionysian Symbol of Light," *The New Scholasticism*, 34 (1960), 189 n. 39.

weakness that lends itself to corruption.[25] In light of their application of Dionysius's spiritualizing hermeneutic to interpretations of rites in the visible world, Colet's conclusions about marriage remain true to the Dionysian principle that all material signs, including the conjugal act, have the dual function of protecting and pointing to ineffable truth. According to Dionysius, God formed the human hierarchy in imitation of the "hierarchies of heaven, and clothed these immaterial hierarchies in numerous material figures and forms so that, in a way appropriate to our nature, we might be uplifted from these most venerable images to interpretations and assimilations which are simple and inexpressible" (DCH 1.3 [PG 3. 121C]).[26] In *De sacramentis ecclesiae*, Colet ventured farther by applying this principle to sacraments not named by Dionysius, whereas in commenting on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* he learned from Dionysius how to apply it to sacraments, sacramentals, and rites of many types.

Colet on Dionysius and His Authority

In the filling and shoring needed to accommodate Dionysian principles, hierarchies, sacraments, and ecclesiology to the early 16th century church, Colet responded in a way similar to, but more extensively than, Traversarius. He does follow Traversarius in making a crucial change that shifts the three sacraments from the topmost triad of the human hierarchy, where Dionysius had placed them above even the highest men, and replaces them with an ecclesiastical hierarchy that begins with the highest pontifex and

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[25] SE 5. 312: "Quoniam sancta ecclesia Christi tota spiritalis non requirit nisi matrimonium spiritale et spiritalem prolificationen in marito Iesu Christo." See SE 300–308. See a similar treatment of marriage as a concession rooted in indulgence for human weakness in his comment on 1Cor 7:7 in CCC 7. 168–196. Gleason 192–194. For a more positive reading of human nature, see for example CCC 12.250: "Et quia homo, minor mundus, comprehensio est totius universitatis, qui anime potentiis novem angelos refert, luculentiore corpore celum, infimo mundum sublunarem; in quo novinaria distinctio crassi humoris est, in quo ossa infime terre locum habent; in ipsis etiam partibus dissimularibus, pedibus, manibus, oculis, capite, ordo est, sed mutua necessitate recompense[n]te."

[26] Colet's view of marriage as a concession to the weak who would otherwise face a greater evil from unfulfilled desire distinguishes him from Erasmian humanists and those with a more pragmatic and accommodating outlook on Christian sexuality, but his emphasis on avoiding concession to weakness is consistent with Dionysius's rebuke of disorder within the church, even in the cause of rectifying perceived corruption: "Even if disorder and confusion should undermine the most divine ordinances and regulations, that still gives no right, even on God's behalf, to overturn the order which God himself has established" (PG 3. 1088C).

extends downward to initiates and penitents.[27] And he does seem influenced by the lengthy scholium—addendum, actually—that closes Traversarius's Latin text and annotations on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. That final scholium aligned Dionysius's sacred rites with those of the fifteenth-century church, likening marriage, for instance, to the union of Christ and the church as Colet often does. But the scholium is academic in tone and function, lacking Colet's personal rhetorical intensity and sweeping syntheses of the metaphor with points of theology—a theology shaped by the synthesized influence of Paul and Dionysius; theories of spiritual action and spiritual men; and a psychology wherein the Christian mind and soul are re-formed in Christ's image.[28] Like Traversarius's scholium, Colet's *De sacramentis* aligns Dionysius's descriptions of sacred rites and practices in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* with contemporary doctrine and practices, especially as regards the seven traditional sacraments. Colet may have found in Traversarius's scholium inspiration to expand the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in *De sacramentis*, such that the latter is a supplement to the former rather than a self-contained treatise. But in Colet's commentary, contrasts of rites supposedly from the primitive church to contemporary counterparts produce intense, elegiac laments that convey emotions and responses that go well beyond Traversarius's neutral exposition.

In addition to significant contrasts between sixteenth-century ecclesiology and sacramental practice and analogues in Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Colet encountered differences in standards of clerical action and the relations of clergy to other ranks in the human hierarchy.[29] Such differences drew Colet's attention. Colet adapted discussions of Dionysius's practices to suit the circumstances of the early sixteenth century *ecclesia*. Whereas the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* allowed extraordinary status in the hierarchy to what the medieval West thought a "sacramental" of secondary

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[27] Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius* 96 and n. 188 at DEH 6.3.5 (PG 3. 536D) in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*.

[28] TEH ff. 45^{r}–46^{v}. At the conclusion of the lengthy, final scholium, Traversarius lists the seven canonical sacraments and provides each with a spiritual significance in the manner of Dionysius in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, wherein the third section of each chapter provides a contemplative spiritual excursus on the meaning of the rites summarized in the second. Traversarius calls holy orders the "sanctarum consummationum" and marriage the "coniugium christi et ecclesie" (46^{v}), phrases that may have helped to inspire Colet's lengthy comments on the same in SE.

[29] E.g., CEH at the close of 2.3, with expressions of wonder at the purity symbolized by the washing of the baptizee balanced by expostulations at the impiety of sinfully befouled priests who perform the washing at the "lavabo" in the mass (3.3).

importance, the consecration and anointing of oils, Colet emphasized similarities in the spiritual significance of the dissemination from one to many of sacred odors in the chrism and the bread and wine of the eucharist. When Dionysius stressed that hierarchs must shield the superior spiritual effusion of the sacraments from the eyes of the more profane, Colet theorized that the sacraments mediate between spiritual men who followed the apostles and those more embedded in the material portions of the church; and, when Dionysius mentioned clerical election by lot, Colet contrasted ancient confidence in divine providence to sixteenth-century election by the secular and ecclesiastical officials who determine clerical appointments.[30] More urgently, Dionysius's identification of the three ranks of the topmost human triad, the anointed clergy (pontifex, priest, and deacon), with the divine and angelic activities of purification, illumination, and perfection, set in relief contemporary ecclesiastical practices and emphases Colet deemed impure, darkened, and imperfect—in short, corrupt.

Amplifying the effect of these contrasts was the apostolic authority assumed by the pseudonymous writer of the *corpus dionysiacum*, an authority granted by nearly all in both the East and West from the sixth century until the fifteenth—an authority that in turn encouraged the conclusion that the church had strayed from its exemplars in Christ and the apostles. Writing in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of an abandoned rite of consecration for monks, Colet praises Dionysius's decision to put into writing the apostles' oral "statutes" before condemning the negligence of the later church in preserving them: "if in this manner holy Dionysius, as if he had foretold man's future carelessness, had not transcribed what he retained in memory from the statutes of the apostles as to disposing and ordering the church, we would have had no record of ancient practice."[31] Unfamiliar with pseudonymous traditions as they had evolved in the Eastern church, wherein writers assumed the authority and attitudes attributed to

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[30] See the comparison of the chrism to communion at CEH 4.1–2; for the sacraments as an apostolic institution, see CEH 1: "Hinc sacramenta et ceremonie vel expiantes vel illuminantes vel perficientes ab ipsis apostolis optima racione et pulcherrimis simulachris descripta plebeiis sunt instituta. Raciones autem eorum non literis sed sanctorum pontificum mentibus commendate et retente fuerint, ut sicut in plebe signa succedant ita in mentibus pontificum succedant raciones"; on the lot as a divinely sanctioned sacramental for the purpose of electing clerics, set against politicized clerical appointments, see CEH 5.3.

[31] CEH 6. 2,3: "si ad eundem modum, quasi divinasset hominum futuram negligentiam, divus Dionysius, que tenuit memoria ex statutis apostolorum in disponenda et ordinanda ecclesia suo felici calamo descripta non reliquisset, nihil recordationis veteris moris habuissemus."

church fathers as means to honor them and advance personal interests, most late medieval and early modern theologians East and West, like Colet, accepted the extant manuscripts of Dionysius—apparently the products of a sixth-century Syriac monk influenced by Origen and Neoplatonists, especially Proclus—as the genuine testimony of the disciple of Paul mentioned in Acts 17:34.[32] The Dionysius named there, linked to the city of Athens and thereby to late classical philosophy and the arts as well as the court situated on the Areopagus hill, provided a convenient way for medieval theologians to assimilate to their own interests the *Hierarchies*, their presumed authorship by a Greek convert tutored by Paul himself, their resulting near-apostolic authority, and the justification therefore of accepting as near-apostolic a deeply Neoplatonic view of Christianity.[33] Like most of his

[32] On 1) the Biblical and late antique traditions of pseudonymous writings and on the linkages that "Dionysius" establishes between both Paul and Neoplatonic concepts such as procession, rest, and return (cf. Rom 11:36); 2) theurgical advancement into God's work and deification (cf. Rom 14:20); and 3) the apophasia of Dionysian contemplation (all correlated with Paul's speech at the Areopagus, Acts 17:23), see Charles M. Stang, "Dionysius, Paul, and the Significance of the Pseudonym," *Modern Theology* 24.4 (October 2008), 541–548. Offering a defense of what is usually cast as a deceptive practice (cf. Raymond Klibansky's reference to Dionysius's "pious plagiarism" in *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages* [London, 1939], 19), Stang proposes three purposes of the pseudonymity practiced by Dionysius: the writer sought to effect in his time a "new rapprochement between the incipient faith of pagan Athens and the supervening revelation of God in Christ"; he used pseudonymity to attribute his "apophatic anthropology"—wherein one must be emptied to receive in ecstasy Christ's redefining love and grace—to Paul; and he employed the pseudonym as a sacred apophasia wherein his personal identity was purged and subsumed by that of Paul's actual disciple and, by extension, Paul himself (548–553). On Dionysius's motives see Rosemary A. Arthur, *Pseudo-Dionysius as Polemicist: The Development and Purpose of the Angelic Hierarchy in Sixth Century Syria* (Farnham UK: Ashgate, 2008). Colet lacked an understanding of the tradition, but, as Trapp surmises, he may have overcome lingering personal doubts due to the worth he assigned to Dionysius's "Neoplatonic justification of the order of created being, the hierarchy of the church and its sacraments, [which] was sufficient in its own right to outweigh" any questions regarding its authority ("John Colet, His Manuscripts, and the *Hierarchies*"220).

[33] Christian Schäfer, "The Anonymous Naming of Names: Pseudonymity and the Philosophical Program in Dionysius the Areopagite," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 82.4 (2008), 561–580, especially 569: "It is precisely the naïve enthusiasm and the immediateness of the first encounter that the literary fiction wants to restore; the encounter, that is, of the highly advanced and venerable Hellenic philosophy and of the recently emerged and unheard-of Christian doctrine (which Acts 17:18–32 depicts). The author of the *corpus dionysiacum* manages to recreate this encounter by jumping back centuries and placing in the mouth of a first-hour Greek convert an exhaustive and refined intellectual exercise that belongs to the sixth century, in order to clarify and explain the passionately discussed problem of the historical fusion of Greek philosophy and Christian truth" (569). The identity of Dionysius remains an enigma, although István Perczel finds connections to Syrian

predecessors and contemporaries, Colet never expresses doubt about the authenticity of the man he calls *divus*, even though Lorenzo Valla in his *Annotationes*, first published in 1505 by Colet's recent acquaintance Erasmus, had expressed doubts that seem to have affected Colet's friend William Grocyn, as reported by Erasmus in the second and following editions of his famous re-translation in Latin of the New Testament from the Greek of the Septuagint, the *Novum Instrumentum* (1518 edition and later).[34] Colet could have found confirmation for his belief in the authenticity of Dionysius among the contemporaries he cites and uses in his writings: Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino, and Lefèvre d'Etaples, as well as Traversarius. These would have countered any doubts arising from Grocyn, Erasmus himself, or through Erasmus from Valla's *Annotationes* on the New Testament (1457). All, including Erasmus even in the late *Ecclesiastes*: *sive de ratione concionandi* (1535), looked at least occasionally to Dionysius as an authoritative if philosophically-oriented church father whose writings usually were presumed to have been inspired by Paul himself and thought to validate

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"Origenism," a movement condemned in 553 CE and evident in sources linked to Dionysius, including a Syriac version of the *corpus dionysiacum* that differs in important ways from the "standard interpretation" of doubtfully orthodox passages in the glosses that accompanied John of Scythopolis's Greek translation ("The Earliest Syriac Reception of Dionysius," *Modern Theology* 24.4 (October 2008), 557–571). See Paul Rorem and John C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1998), which includes an English translation of the scholia. Rorem traces the transition to the Latin West in "The Early Latin Dionysius: Eriugena and Hugh of St. Victor," *Modern Theology* 24.4 (October 2008), 601–614. See also René Roques, *L'Univers Dionysien: Structure Hiérarchique du Monde selon le Pseudo-Denys* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983 [1954 first edition]).

[34] Trapp, "Erasmus on William Grocyn and Ps-Dionysius: A Re-examination," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 59 (1996), 294–303, shows how Erasmus's selective and changing memory in subsequent editions of the *Novum Instrumentum* solidified an inaccurate tradition later enshrined in Frederic Seebohm's *The Oxford Reformers* (London 1867), p. 6, wherein Grocyn is said to have lost confidence in Dionysius's authenticity during a series of lectures on Dionysius witnessed by Thomas More at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. Trapp allows that Grocyn's confidence in Dionysius's authority may indeed have waned in the years after his lectures. Grocyn possessed perhaps the only copy in England of Lorenzo Valla's *Collatio Novi Testamenti* (1453, an early version of the *Annotationes*), which cast doubt on Dionysius and may have served as a MS source for Erasmus's 1505 edition of the *Annotationes*. Trapp demonstrates that Erasmus in the 1519 *Novum Instrumentum* first enlisted Grocyn with Valla against Dionysian authenticity but, when defending himself in the *Supputatio calumniarum Natalis Bedae* (1526) against charges that his position advanced Lutheranism, Erasmus changed the supposed topic of Grocyn's critical lectures from the *Celestial* to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, a change repeated with additional detail in his *Declarationes ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatas* (1532). For a more detailed account, see note 59, below. Although Colet until his death in 1519 maintained friendships with Erasmus and Grocyn and most likely knew of their doubts, he gives no evidence of sharing them (302).

the integration of Greek philosophy with nascent Christianity.[35] Dionysius offered a way to view Pauline Christianity through the lens of Neoplatonism.

An elegiac impulse to validate and mourn loss of the rites, ecclesiology, and theology of the early church seems related to Colet's frequent recourse to the subjunctive in his descriptions of the clerical practices and orders in commenting on Dionysius's ecclesiastical hierarchy: Christians *ought* to practice sacred rituals like those outlined by Dionysius—carefully handed down orally from the apostles and presumably to have been disseminated from one generation to another by the bishops.[36] Yet the rites described by Dionysius, not to mention the presumed behavior of Christian clergy and laity alike within that hierarchy, aligned poorly with medieval and early modern ecclesiastical practice in the West. Discrepancies between Dionysius's apostolic authority and practices of the medieval church probably account for the relative infrequency of commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in that period until a revival of interest in the Dionysian corpus stirred due to Traversarius's translation, completed in 1536, first printed in 1480, and republished by Lefèvre d'Etaples in 1498. Although the *Celestial Hierarchy* and *Divine Names* (treating the aptness and errancy of language both seemingly befitting and seemingly unsuited for divinity) appeared often as the subject of commentaries in the centuries following Eriugena's Latin translation of the Dionysian works, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*—though occasionally translated—received comparatively little attention.[37]

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[35] The epithet "pseudo-" is firmly attached to Dionysius's name only in the nineteenth century, following a long controversy as to authenticity that had persisted since the sixteenth century along Catholic (pro-authenticity) and Protestant (pro-pseudonymity) lines. See Hugo Koch, "Proklus als Quelle des Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre von Bösen," *Philologus* 54 (1895): 438–454, and *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismu und Mysterienweses* (Mainz: Franz Kirkheim, 1900); and Josef Stiglmayer, "Der Neuplatoniker Proklos als Vorlage des sog. Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Übel," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1895): 253–273 and 721–748, as well as "Das Aufkommen der Ps.-Dionysischen Schriften und ihr Eindrungen in die christliche Literatur bis zum Lateranconcil 649. Ein zweiter Beitrag zur Dionysius Frage," *IV Jahresbericht des offentlichen Privatgymnasiums an der Stelle matutina zu Feldkirch*: *Veröffenlicht am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1894–95* (Feldkirch: L. Sausgruber, 1895).

[36] John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1521* (Durham: Duke UP, 1979), 70–72, on the appeal of demonstrative rhetoric as a means to effect reform.

[37] See Lochman, "*Divus Dionysius*: Authority, Self, and Society in John Colet's Reading of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 68.1 (January 2007), 1–34, 11. Paul Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their*

Colet's interest seems to have been spurred partly by curiosity about the history of the church and its practices but partly, too, by interest in reforming corrupt practices and lax piety in the Tudor church—interests revealed also in the Convocation Sermon he delivered to church leaders in London (1511/1512?) and indirectly through the practical advice to the laity in *A Right Fruitfull Monition* (1534) and to the boys of St. Paul in his *Accidens*, *Catechism*, and other works he commissioned for them, as well as in Statutes he composed but apparently never implemented for the regulation of the minor clergy at St. Paul's Cathedral.[38] Dionysius provided a norm—albeit an ironically non-authentic one—by which Colet could measure the sixteenth-century church's lapse from its apostolic model. In his eighth letter, Dionysius chastises the monk Demophilus for stepping above his hierarchical rank by upbraiding a priest, thereby disrupting the hierarchy's perfect order since the priest's "business [is] to teach you divine things," not vice versa (PG 3. 1088C), offering a precedent that seems to mimic Paul's rebukes to wavering Christian communities in Rome and would help justify Colet's attempted reforms of the minor clergy. Awareness of the Dionysian need to maintain hierarchic order makes Colet's comments at the opening of the Convocation Sermon more than an empty iteration of the humility topos: "I iuged it vtterly vnworthy and vnmete, ye and almost to malapert, that I, a servant, shulde counsaile my lords." Colet goes on to assert that it is only the command of Archbishop Warham, president of the convocation, that gives

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Influence (New York: Oxford UP, 1993), writes that "western medieval readers, papalists or conciliarists, paid little attention" to the *text* of DEH but often employed the authority and general principles of Dionysian hierarchy, as Bonaventure had, in service of disparate views of the structures and governance of the church (33, 30–36). Rorem identifies a more widespread, though even more inconsistent, influence of DEH upon liturgical commentaries, a genre that Rorem traces from the fourth lecture of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* by Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–386) through writings by Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428), thence to the Byzantine East in the liturgical writings of Maximus the Confessor (580–662) and Germanus I of Constantinople (c. 634–c. 733) and finally to the medieval West (118–126). Colet rather diffidently refers to a major compendium of this type, the previously cited eight books of *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by William Durandus, Bishop of Mende (ca 1292–1296), as a late effort to reproduce in writing what remained of the supposed oral tradition of liturgical knowledge: CEH 1.

[38] For the English text of the Convocation Sermon, see Lupton's *A Life of John Colet*, Appendix C, 293–304; of the seldom-mentioned *Right Fruitfull Monition*, addressed to a general audience, see the same, Appendix D, 305–310; for Colet's writings on the education of the boys at St. Paul's, see the same, Appendixes A and B, 271–292. On the *Statutes* for the minor clergy, see Jonathan Arnold, *Dean John Colet of St. Paul's: Humanism and Reform in Early Tudor England* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 56–87, 157–177 and "Colet, Wolsey, and the Politics of Reform: St. Paul's Cathedral in 1518," *English Historical Review* 121 (2006): 979–1001.

him warrant to speak before his superiors.[39] From his mid-level position in the Tudor church, Colet had to balance carefully reforming interests with convictions about the importance of hierarchic order: one solution was to identify the current hierarchy as out of order and in need of the restoration achieved only by inspired reformers—those Colet would consider true hierarchs, whatever their administrative titles.

Idealism, Re-Form, Action

Dionysian principles encourage consideration of ideal, even utopian structures and activities, explaining in part the idealism and perfectionism attributed—often with pejorative overtones—to Colet, in contrast to what is perceived as the greater accommodations to human foibles evident in the writings of Erasmus and other humanists. From the mid-twentieth-century on, writers in the mould of Eugene Rice, H.C. Porter, and, more recently Trapp, Gleason, and Arnold have emphasized this idealism, citing it as a chief cause of Colet's failure to achieve the religious reforms he advocated.[40] Yet the views of both Dionysius and Colet have pragmatic dimensions often overlooked in revisionist readings. In the letters, Dionysius addresses issues presumably apposite to the early Church, at one point alluding to the charges of a sophist named Apollophanes, who is said to have reviled Dionysius for profaning Greek deities and philosophy: "This knowledge of beings, which [Apollophanes] rightly calls philosophy and which the divine Paul described as the 'wisdom of God' [1Cor 1:21–24, 2:7], should have led true

[39] Lupton, *Life* 293–294. Lupton reprints the old-spelling English edition (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1530?), reprinted in 1531. The first edition appeared in Latin, probably published by Richard Pynson in 1512. The English version reappeared in 1661 in editions published by William Morden.

[40] Key to readings of Colet's alleged fruitless idealism is the mixed portrait of Colet, along with the more favorable one of the French monk Jean Vitrier, in a letter of 13 June 1521 from Erasmus to Justus Jonas, which concludes that "it was a great thing that Colet in his station in life [as the son of a wealthy merchant and lord mayor, as well as Dean of a major cathedral in an important city] should have followed so steadfastly the call, not of his nature but of Christ's," although "there were some things which showed that he [unlike Vitrier] was only human" (CW 1211, 8.243–244). See Eugene F. Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural," *Harvard Theological Review*, 45 (1952), 141–163; H.C. Porter, "The Gloomy Dean and the Law," *Essays in Modern Church History in Memory of Norman Sykes*, ed. G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh (London: Black, 1966), 18–43; Trapp, "John Colet and the *Hierarchies* of the Ps-Dionysius," *Religion and Humanism*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1981), 128–134; Gleason, *John Colet* 192–195 and *passim*; Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 179–182.

philosophers to be uplifted to him who is the Cause not only of all beings but also of the very knowledge which one can have of these beings." Yet, Dionysius continues, Apollophanes and others like him profanely refuse to believe in the Creator, his omnipotence, and the truth of God's miraculous deviations from the natural order, as recorded in scripture.[41] Elsewhere, Dionysius offers instruction on particular points (including, importantly, the role of incarnate Christ in the hierarchies, addressed in Letter 4) and admonishes impropriety, such as the priest Sosipater's glorying in the refutation of a view that does not seem good.[42] Feigned or true, Dionysius's comments demonstrate awareness in the writer's time, as in Paul's epistles, of the distance between ecclesiastical ideals and their realization in a church where self-interest affects clergy and laity alike and where the pragmatic, rhetorical use of proclaimed ideals serves as a demonstrative goad to effect virtuous behavior.

Colet shares an insistence upon upholding one's ideals, but, just as the Dionysian emanations accommodate the varied degrees of human reception of the divine, so he not only identifies differences in rank but, more explicitly than Dionysius, finds room to accommodate weakness within the hierarchy, despite his insistence that remaining weak is not good enough. In his commentaries Colet never wavers from upholding principles such that the "marriage" of holy orders, for instance, outweighs its fleshly imitation, the latter justified only as a Pauline concession to the weak. But he sometimes assumes a more accommodating voice, demonstrating his familiarity with Cicero and Quintilian by adjusting his rhetoric to the audience and circumstances. In the *Right Fruitfull Monition*, he moderately encourages agreement between husband and wife, advising the husband to be patient even when he must correct and pray for the "amendement" of the wife. Though not an enlightened view of women or of marriage, the "intent" of marriage Colet describes here is not just "the synne of the flesshe" it seems to some readers of *De Sacramentis*. Though the letter of Erasmus to Jonas in 1521 must be viewed as filtered by its writer's more favorable opinions about marriage, Colet is there reported to have said "he never found more uncorrupted characters than among married couples; for their natural affection, the care of their children, and the business of a household seemed to fence them in, as it were, so that they could not lapse indiscriminately into sin" (Ep. 1211; CW 8. 239). The testimony of Erasmus, which is consistent with

[41] Letter 7; PG 3. 1080B–1081C.
[42] Letter 6; PG 3. 1077A–B.

the principle of indulgence for weakness expressed in *De Sacramentis* and the 1 Corinthians Commentary, seems to be confirmed by Colet's appointment of worldly, non-clerical stewards of the affairs of St. Paul's School. In drafting its statutes he requires the school's accounts and wages to be reviewed by two "surveyors" appointed from among the secular Mercers rather than, as one might expect, clergy in the Chapter of St. Paul's. Erasmus similarly recalls that Colet preferred "married citizens of approved reputation" because he found this "class of men," the rising urban bourgeois that included his successful father, the group "in whom he had found the least corruption."[43]

Granted that Colet, like Dionysius, distinguished between ideals established as principles and the reality of life in a material and sinful world and that he granted accommodations to weakness for those in the lower ranks of the *ecclesia*, his comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* above all centered on identifying Dionysian ideals of belief and action compatible with his theology of psychological and ecclesiological "re-form."

On the micro-level, each Christian *anima* ought, in Colet's view, to undergo a re-formation wherein the human *spiritus* that is the apex of mind—i.e., the received flow of grace from the heavenly Spirit into the intellect and will—is fully restored to its prelapsarian state due to Christ's incarnation and redemption, resulting in the creation of "spiritual men" (*spiritales homines*) capable of mediating between God and fleshly men.[44] Moreover, this re-formed human *spiritus* is to become co-operant with the divine Spirit and partially self-actualized in enacting providence.[45] The need for re-formation results originally from Adam's fall, which de-formed and weakened humanity due to the loss of God's image and the *spiritus* within

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[43] Ep. 1211; CW 8. 236–237. See Lupton 308, 280. See Arnold, "Profit and Piety: Thomas More, John Colet, and the London Mercery," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 12.2–3 (2010), 127–153, especially 141–148 on Colet's relations with the Mercers for several projects, including the School. Arnold argues that "there was no contradiction between Colet's and More's theories concerning wealth and property in their written works and their philanthropic activities in the real world" (128).

[44] CEH 6. 1 on "spiritales homines"; ER 12. 184–185: "Christus ipse autor naturae propositum habuit in hominibus ipsam naturam exprimere, et ad naturae ordinem et pulchritudinem quae ab ordine deciderint redigere, reformareque humanum genus, quod erat morbis et transgressionibus totum deforme, fedum et detestabile."

[45] CCC 13. 260: "Itaque post morosam dispositionem tamdem extat premium individuo momento charitatis, que spiritalis hominis forma intrinseca est et essentialis, effecta in ipso ad opifice et causa, Spiritu Dei; qua homo, ipse iam spiritalis perfection charitatis, potens est in Dei Spiritu spiritalis actionis et compos, agitque ipse iam perfectus spiritus opera in Spiritu coagente."

the soul, leaving people prone to yield to temptations from devils, the passions, and senses. God's restorative truth, when presented obscurely under the Mosaic law, offered only an opaque rendering of Christ's law to be made manifest after the incarnation, with the life and sacrifice of redemption recorded in the gospels serving as a practical example of divine life in the world. Due to the transforming power of hope and faith, signified and actualized by baptism, each Christian may recover a properly ordered, simple, prelapsarian form of body and mind, and through faith each may regain the intellect and loving affect that enables co-operation through charity with the Spirit and the merit that follows from voluntary participation in the operation of God's providence.[46]

On the macro-level, too, Christ, according to Colet, instituted a re-formation of humanity signified by the body of Christ, whose corporate will, like that of the individual, is infused with divine power and energy in a body headed by Christ and enlivened by the Spirit and its cooperating clergy—the latter being spiritual men (*spiritales homines*) analogous to the vital spirits (*vitales spiritus*) of Galenism: as presented in more detail below, they are infused with, as it were, the spiritual heat and air that mediate between the heart and mind as they mediate between Christ as head of the church and its material "body," the latter being secular Christians wrapped within the liminal "flesh" of the mystical body.[47] For Colet, the health of the whole church suffers when any single member falters, but the risk to health is far graver when clergy, the vital spirits, fail to mediate between Christ and the laity due to malignity, ignorance, immorality, secularism, or other errors that bring disease to all other members. The mystical body's health

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[46] Colet restates this process many times in different places, but see ER 6–8. 144–158, especially 152–157; and CCC 12–13. 230–270. On Colet's soteriology drawn from Romans, see Peter Iver Kaufman, *Augustinian Piety and Catholic Reform: Augustine, Colet, and Erasmus* (Macon, GA [Mercer UP, 1982]), 55–81; O'Kelly's introduction to CCC 40–47; Jayne 36–76. Writing primarily about SE, Gleason enlists Colet as a dutiful member of a "Bonaventure renaissance" that followed the saint's canonization in 1482, with corresponding interests in sacramental signs; redemption through God's power, wisdom, and goodness; and the existence of sin as an expression of God's power and goodness. But Gleason's claim omits other influences from Augustine, Paul, Florentine Neoplatonists, and the fifteenth-century Dionysian revival, together with theological innovations by Colet as regards re-form and its relation to Christology and spirituality. While Bonaventure and, behind him, Hugh of St. Victor contribute to the tradition of Platonic voluntarism found in Colet and the early Erasmus, there is little evidence of the direct influence Gleason asserts (185–210). On the mutual interests of Colet and Erasmus around the time of the latter's first trip to England, see Kaufman, "John Colet and Erasmus's *Enchiridion*," *Church History* 46.3 (September 1977), 296–312, especially 301–310.

[47] ER 12. 175–194; CCC 12.250–254; *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystice* 185–192.

and salvation consists in the re-formation and preservation of all members within the totality of the body or cognates such as the New Jerusalem, a Christian republic, or a Christian society comprised of the cities of man, of God, and the church militant.[48]

In both individuated and social modes of discourse about salvation, Colet identifies Christ as an ideally perfect model of humanity and as a *theanthropon* (literally, "god-man") whose unity draws together diverse members, bringing together discourses regarding the Trinity, the Dionysian hierarchies, and Paul. For Colet, Christ's immanence in history contrasts with the lesser influence of the more distant angels. As *theanthropon* Christ embodies and models for humanity the union of material and intelligible, the creation and its creator. Moreover, as a member of the Trinity he embodies its divinely perfect unity, intellect, and will, with the intellect as his special domain. The Trinity is the triadic archetype for the virtues as Colet orders them, with expectant hope (sometimes linked to trust or *fiducia*, as discussed below) placed first (in contrast to the series in 1 Corinthians 13:13) in anticipation of salvation and serving as a basis for faith and the means of unification from worldly multiplicity, much as the Father first gave unity and order to plurality at creation. Faith is considered as trust (*fiducia*) bridging over to belief (*fides*) in Christ, the mediator between material and spiritual realms and the source of the principles of Godly living in the world. Divine love (*amor*) descends from the Spirit and is reflected upward by all creatures in a return-of-love (*redamor*), and it receives an intrinsic form that is charity, which is actualized as good works in the external world.[49]

Encouraged perhaps by the interlocking triads of Augustine's *De trinitate* as well as the Dionysian hierarchies, Colet links the three Pauline virtues not only to the Trinity but to the Dionysian activities, including purification, wherein what is multiple is brought into simplicity and unity (Colet's virtue of hope); illumination, wherein the intellect perceives truth (Colet's

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[48] Kaufman, *Augustinian Piety*, 105–110. In "Polydore Vergil and Ecclesiastical Historiography in His *De Inventoribus Rerum* IV–VIII" (forthcoming), Jonathan Arnold finds in Vergil a similar emphasis on the ideal humanist church of a "spiritual republic" "transformed inwardly by their faith in Christ" in *De Inventoribus Rerum* (published in 1521 but revised until Vergil's death in 1555). Arnold points out that Colet would have known Vergil through their common membership at Doctor's Commons in London and residence at St. Paul's (142, 144,150). Vergil added a favorable verbal portrait of Colet to later editions of the Tudor history *Anglica Historia* (1533).

[49] Lochman, "*Fiducia* and *Fides* in the Romans *Expositio* of John Colet: A Late Fifteenth Century View," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 17 (1991), 39–53; Kaufman, *Augustinian Piety* 55–68.

faith); and perfection, an intensification of intellect represented by the fiery, active, energetic love of the Seraphim atop the celestial hierarchy, both returned to God in response to God's love for them and distributed to others (Colet's charity). Following Dionysius, Colet emphasizes that no hierarchic rank lacks these three actions, but each rank maintains a specific identity emphasizing just one action, such that the lowest of the top three ranks of angels, the Thrones, though receiving purification, perfection, and illumination from the superior Seraphim and Cherubim, are established beneath them and identified with purification, since they are purified and drawn upward toward illumination and perfection at the same time they in turn overflow theurgically, with their perfect purification used to perfect the angelic rank below, the Powers, who in turn lead in their perfection the angelic triad associated with illumination. Similarly, in comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Dionysius stresses that the hierarchs, the most perfect rank in the second human triad, receive divine emanations from the first ecclesiastical triad of sacraments: baptism, communion, and the anointing of oils. Their reception in turn overflows to perfect, illumine, and purify subordinate ranks of clergy and ultimately the laity.[50]

Following Traversarius's translation of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, which omits the eccleiastical triad of sacraments and constructs three triads of Christians, Colet emphasizes the preeminence among Christians of the now topmost position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy—the *pontifex* (an ecclesiastical leader defined like Dionysius's hierarch by divine knowledge and love, distinct spiritually from what Colet in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* identifies as the administrative and judicial office of the *episcopus*, although presumably the titles can overlap in the same person). The pontifex is highest in the ecclesiastical hierarchy not due to bureaucratic office but due to his perfected love, intellect, and purity that overflow in turn to priests and deacons and due to his contingency to Christ as the perfection of humankind.[51] Colet integrates into his theology central tenets of virtuous action disparately

[50] Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary* 91–96.

[51] See CEH 3.2 on the *pontifex*; on the distinct office of *episcopus*, see the same: "Ad quem erat delata ea authoritas ab universali ecclesia, ut non consentientes inter se in illius sententia conquiescant, qui officio et dignitate non tam prestat ceteris sacerdotibus—quum nihil agit quoque sacerdote excellentius quam quadam administratione et authoritate in litibus dirimendis—ut in eo omnes qui simul cum eodem sacerdotes agunt omnia tanquam in quodam puncto sententie omnibus finitis discordiis conquiescant. Hic tum peculiariter episcopus cepit vocari, quod nomen sub apostolis omnium erat sacerdotum, donec selectus is fuerat unus de quo modo dixi et propter causam quam dixi."

expressed in Dionysius and Paul in order to effect a synthesis that allows him to emphasize his own interests in re-form of the individual and corporate church, and he seems to assume as an unstated principle that Dionysius and Paul express a single truth in two modes of discourse, one allied to Neoplatonic philosophy and the other imbued with the Judaic and evangelical traditions. Both modes subordinate discourse to ineffable truth in accord with the Dionysian contrasting cataphatic and apophatic approaches to expressions of truth, as framed in the *Divine Names* and the second chapter of the *Celestial Hierarchy*.[52]

Although Colet correlates Dionysius's hierarchic activities with the Pauline virtues, in the Romans *Enarratio* and other works he inverts the order of the first two, so that the virtue "hope" precedes faith and serves as the least advanced yet most purifying stage of spiritual development. As suggested above, in Colet's rendering hope produces the unity from multiplicity that gives rise to spiritual being and that looks toward the future; or, in a Pauline formulation, it serves as fiducial trust that blends together hope and faith and signifies the unification of the soul out of chaotic multiplicity in the flesh. In his *Expositio* on Romans Colet identifies *fiducia* as the experiential type of hope and faith evident in Abraham's trust to the point of slaying Isaac.[53] *Fiducia* leads to faith, which, more than simply intellective belief, implies belief joined to trust and the affect of perfection. Illuminating faith refashions the Christian in Christ's incarnate image, recreating the originally created soul and body, and it restores the cooperative spirit lost to the human soul at the fall. Perfecting charity is an action that doubly revives restored humanity, first by enlivening the purified and illumined individual as God's instrument through the overflow of grace and second by restoring liberty, judgment, and independent action when the re-formed individual acts with love internally in response to God's love and externally in the overflow of love to others in the hierarchy.[54] Re-formed human

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[52] On the relation of the apophatic tradition to later medieval mysticism and its implications for the relative importance of intellect and affect, see Denys Turner, "Dionysius and Some Late Medieval Mystical Theologians of Northern Europe," *Modern Theology* 24.4 (October 2008), 651–665. See DN 1 (PG 3 585B–597C); DCH 2 (PG 3 136D–145C).

[53] See Lochman, "*Fiducia* and *Fides* in John Colet's Roman *Expositio*" 39–53. Colet's interest in the correlation of *fiducia*, hope, and faith has affinities with Luther's in his commentary on Romans, though Colet's linkage of it to hope contrasts with Luther's adoption of *fiducia* as the core of inward "faith." See also Kaufman, *Augustinian Piety* 55–60. Jayne speculates on the Platonic bases for the evolution of Colet's unusual hope-faith-charity order (58–68).

[54] ER 12. 193–194; CCC 13. 256–270. See especially 258 ("Perfectio quidem est charitas. Antequam amaris sic ut redames, tu non hec operaris, sed Spiritus in te.") and 266 ("Charitas

nature—prelapsarian in simplicity and innocence yet even greater than prelapsarian Adam's nature due to its ability to participate in and imitate Christ's incarnate being both as a spiritual man and as a member of a spiritual society—is the formation of something new, a deification that occurs as a consequence of the manifold grace made possible due to the incarnation, redemption, and God's providence. The thrust of this elevation from purification to perfection, from hope to charity, emphasizes both the individual's and corporate church's need for ceaseless striving toward perfection and the concomitant need to avoid all backsliding. In Colet's writings, seeking perfection—the actualization of spiritual potential—is the expression of an idealism that is, after all, not so uncommon among early modern writers influenced by Platonism: a similar early modern emphasis on striving for perfection appears in a completely secular context in the introduction to *The Courtier*, where Baldesar Castiglione writes, "if I have been unable to approach the image of the … [perfect Courtier], in my style, then courtiers will find it so much easier to approach in their deeds the end and goal which my writing sets before them. And if, for all that, they are unable to attain to that perfection, such as it is, that I have tried to express the one who comes the nearest to it will be the most perfect."[55]

Whatever this unrelenting emphasis on striving may have cost him when he attempted to implement the reforms he envisioned for the church in general and St. Paul's Cathedral in particular, Colet nonetheless consistently overcame or at least was able to bear with the resulting animosities of those who objected to his idealism. Such was the outcome of run-ins like that with Henry VIII on the issue of English military adventurism in France (ca. 1512–1514), apparently set up by enemies at court; with Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London (ca. 1513–1515); with Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham, his one-time ally; and, more locally, with the minor clergy at St. Paul's due to repeated efforts to impose firm, even harsh restrictions upon their incomes and behavior. Such is the trajectory of his biographical narrative not only in Erasmus and Lupton but even in revisionists such as

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autem facit non coadiutores cum Spiritu Christi et cooperators, ipsos vivos, florentes, et fructificantes iusticiam in Christo, arbore fructifera iuticie").

[55] *The Book of the Courtier: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. Daniel Javitch, tr. Charles S. Singleton (New York: Norton, 2002), 7 (*Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. Giulio Preti [Turin: Einaudi, 1965], 7, online, 9 July 2012: "… alla imagine della quale s'io non ho potuto approssimarmi col stile, tanto minor fatica averanno i cortegiani d'approssimarsi con l' opere al termine e mèta, ch'io col scrivere ho loro proposto; e se con tutto questo non potran conseguir quella perfezion, qual che ella si sia, ch'io mi son sforzato d'esprimere, colui che piú se la avvicinarà sarà il piú perfetto").

Gleason and Arnold. Indeed, despite the various tensions involving Colet found in Erasmus's correspondence during the 1510s, Colet maintained his position as Dean and even gained prominence with a seat on Henry's Privy Council (ca. 1517).[56] Moreover, whatever limitations his idealism may have imposed on his ability to bring subordinate clergy and others into line, he demonstrated administrative skill in other ways, as when he endowed and refounded St. Paul's School; assigned its fiscal administration to the Mercers; sought out capable masters, including Grocyn's godson William Lily and, unsuccessfully, Erasmus himself; and placed his relationship with Thomas Linacre on the line by preferring the Lily-Erasmus grammar to Linacre's on pedagogical grounds.[57] Colet's sometimes seemingly incoherent biographical record involving education, ecclesiology, and theology does have a central theme of utopian, small-r "re-form"—a word that bridges across his ideas about theology, ecclesiastical governance, education, and social policy but stands in contrast to Frederic Seebohm's antiquated idea of a univocal coterie of "Oxford Reformers" engaged in a mission of institutional reform that anticipated the Protestant Reformation and its Anglican compromise. That part of Colet's reforming emphasis that is social—both as regards the society of the church and the world at large—emerges principally in the commentary that focuses on Christian institutions—ecclesiology, the sacraments, and human participation in divine spirituality—i.e., the commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.

Colet's Ecclesiastical Hierarchy *and Chronology*

Although relatively numerous, Colet's extant writings remained hardly known until Lupton's printed editions in the second half of the nineteenth century. The original manuscripts of the Dionysian writings and others, like much of the documentary evidence and disparate biographical references

[56] Gleason provides an overview of these events (235–260); see also Arnold's study of Colet's attempted imposition of regulatory statutes upon the minor order at St. Paul's, on which see Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 65–87, 157–177. For a broader Tudor context see Peter Iver Kaufman, *The "Polytyque Churche": Religion and Early Tudor Political Culture, 1485–1516* (Macon, GA: Mercer UP, 1986), 59–106. There is no simple reforming narrative for Colet, however: although Erasmus attests in 1521 that Colet was willing to give a hearing to heretical views (CW 8, 240–241) and although it seems that he read the copy of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* (1458) he obtained on behalf of Christopher Urswick in 1492 (Gleason 53–55), Gleason points to evidence that in 1511 Colet participated in Archbishop Warham's trials of suspected Lollards in Kent (240–241).

[57] Gleason 45, 219–232.

concerning Colet, continue to raise questions regarding chronology. The Convocation Sermon was one of the few writings by Colet to appear in print and the only to bear a date from his lifetime. The Sermon appeared in 1511/1512, close in time to a few other writings that likewise appeared in print, such as his contributions to the *Accidence* used at St. Paul's School.[58] Other works, such as an earlier version of the brief devotional treatise *A Right Fruitfull Monition*, known from a single copy dated 1534, may also have circulated in print at an earlier date. Despite these limitations, attempts have been made to construct a chronology for all the works, based on internal evidence, biographical information, and other extrinsic evidence.

The first concentrated effort to account for Colet's works appeared in Lupton's appendix to *Opuscula quaedam theologica*, published in 1876 (307–314), though there was no accompanying chronology as such. Lupton's brief comments on the Cambridge University and St. Paul's School manuscripts (the latter containing a transcription of the British Library manuscript that remained unknown to Lupton) refer to both *Hierarchies* but advance no dates of composition. Several years earlier, in the introduction to his

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[58] Richard Pynson's *Oratio habita a D. Ioanne Colet Decano Sancti Pauli ad Clerum in Conuocatione* is dated 1511 (EEBO, online, 26 August 2012), with the London Convocation taking place 6 February 1512 (new calendar; 6 February 1511, old calendar). Gleason argues that Colet delivered the sermon instead at convocation in 1510, based on arguments advanced in a 1963 PhD dissertation by Michael J. Kelly ("Canterbury Jurisdiction and Influence during the Episcopate of William Warham, 1503–1532," Cambridge University), p. 112, n. 2. Kelly argued that Colet's failure to mention war ignored the war-centered agenda of the 1512 convocation; that the convocation's agenda was known in advance although Colet asserts he does not know what the clergy will determine; that Colet called for new laws against simony but such had been in place since 1510; and that he advocated general and provincial councils despite the Fifth Lateran Council already having been proclaimed on 15 July 1511. Against these points are the following. Although warfare is not central to Colet's topos of clerical reform in Rom 12:2, he touches on clerical involvement in warfare when he cautions the clergy against becoming "warriours rather of this worlde than of Christe" (Lupton, *A Life* 297; *Oratio* A5^{v}: "Nemo militans deo: implicat se negociis secularibus. Milites autem sacerdotes sunt ...."). Colet's professed ignorance of the outcome of the convocation at its opening (Lupton, *A Life* 293; *Oratio* A2^{r}: "In quo quidnam acturi sitis quasque res tractaturi nondum intelligimus ...") does not require ignorance of its agenda. Colet does not call for laws against simony but explicitly demands that existing laws against the practice be recalled and recited (Lupton, *A Life* 300: *Oratio* B2^{v}: "Recitentur leges que militant contra Symoniacam labem ...."). Finally, the 1511 bull calling for the Fifth Lateran Council need not preclude Colet's desire for more frequent "prouinciall councels ... for the reformation of the churche" (Lupton, *A Life* 302; *Oratio* B4^{v}: "Renouentur postremo ille leges et constitutiones Patrum de celebratione Conciliorum que iubent vt prouincialia Concilia frequentius pro reformatione ecclesie celebrentur"). Given these weaknesses, there seems to be no reason to overturn Pynson's date, assigned for the old calendar, or to presume with Gleason that the sermon "must" have a date of 1510 (181, 370 n. 33).

untranslated edition of *De sacramentis ecclesiae* (1867) Lupton speculated without evidence that this treatise, along with the other Dionysian works, appeared "not long after 1498," due to Erasmus's comment three decades later that William Grocyn, Colet's acquaintance and friend, had lectured at St. Paul's Cathedral on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* around 1500 and that Ambrosius Traversarius's Latin translation and commentary on Dionysius was reprinted in Paris 1498 before being republished in expanded form in 1502, both being events presumed to have spurred Colet's interest at that time.[59] Lupton briefly described the contents of the St. Paul's manuscript

[59] Lupton's account followed an outline of manuscripts known to Samuel Knight: see *The Life of Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's in the Reigns of K. Henry VII and K. Henry VIII and Founder of St. Paul's School*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1823 [first edition 1724]), xv–xvi. See Lupton's comments on the manuscripts, Grocyn's lectures on Dionysius at St. Paul's in London, and Ficino's (1492) and Traversarius's (1498/1499) printed editions (see the introduction to SE 1–6 in *Opuscula*), especially Lupton's unsupported assertions that the recent editions of Dionysian writings "turned Colet's attention afresh to the *Hierarchies*" and that Grocyn was the anonymous dedicatee addressed in Colet's preliminary comments to the *Celestial Hierarchy* (CCH 1. 5–6). In his introduction to SE, Lupton cites Erasmus's reference to Grocyn in *Declarationes Des. Erasmi Roterodami ad censuras Lutetiae vulgatos sub nomine Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis* (Basel: Froben, 1532), 264. The memorial accuracy of Erasmus's citation there is at issue, however. J.B. Trapp, in "Erasmus on William Grocyn and Ps-Dionysius," traces the extensive confusion surrounding Erasmus's reference. In a letter from Thomas More to schoolmaster John Holt (ca. November 1501), More refers in passing to Grocyn's having *begun* recently to comment on the *Celestial Hierarchy* to students and scholars at St. Paul's Cathedral. There is in this reference no mention that Grocyn doubted Dionysius's authenticity or intended to continue with lectures on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (Trapp 298–299).

Only after publishing Lorenzo Valla's doubts about Dionysian authenticity in April of 1505, among notes for a new Latin edition of the New Testament (*Laurentii Vallensis ... in latinam Novi Testamenti interpretationem ex collatione graecorum exemplarium adnotationes*, Paris, Jehan Petit) did Erasmus express doubts about Dionysius, though he still criticized Valla's position and even offered support from traditional views in the 1516, first edition of the *Novum Instrumentum*. Only in the 1519 and subsequent editions of 1522, 1527, and 1535, after Erasmus had publicly doubted Dionysian authenticity in a prefatory letter to the second volume of Jerome's letters, did he mention that Grocyn had changed his view of Dionysius during the St. Paul lectures (ca. 1501, on the *Celestial Hierarchy*; Trapp 300).

Because the eventual acceptance of Valla's position put Erasmus at odds with ecclesiastical custom and placed in doubt assumptions about the fundamental unity of Pauline and Dionysian theologies, he soon received public criticism from Josse Clichtove, the anti-Lutheran pupil of Lefèvre d'Etaple who in 1524 linked Erasmus's position on Dionysius to that of Lutherans. In 1525, Erasmus's view also was criticized by Noel Béda, a theologian at Paris. Erasmus subsequently responded in the 1526 *Supputatio calumniarum Natalis Bedae*, wherein he claimed that his doubts about Dionysius were independent and prior to Luther's, having been informed by the views of Valla and Grocyn, with the latter now said to have lectured on the *Ecclesiastical* rather than *Celestial Hierarchy* (Trapp 301). Trapp shows that this inaccuracy persisted in Erasmus's mind after 1526, since in the 1532 *Declarationes*, the work cited by Lupton, Erasmus refers to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* as the focus of Grocyn's

containing this treatise and the two comments on the *Hierarchies*. In his 1887 biography of Colet, Lupton takes another course altogether, implying that the texts of the commentaries on Dionysius's *Celestial* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies* are similar in form to the lectures on Paul Colet delivered at Oxford in the late 1490s or early 1510s and therefore written near one another in time (71, n. 2). Although no evidence supports the idea that Colet's comments on these works are related to Grocyn's lectures or Colet's on Paul, Lupton's speculative comment is often stated as fact.

During the 1960s, Sears Jayne attempted the first genuine chronology of Colet's Pauline writings, still believed to be close transcripts of the lectures Colet delivered at Oxford during the years following his return from the continent.

Jayne argued that Colet studied Ficino's *Epistolae* (the copy located in the library of All Souls College, Oxford, bearing fullsome marginalia in Colet's hand) together with the Dionysian *Hierarchies* before or shortly after Colet's return to England ca. 1498, based on thematic similarities. Jayne suggests that the encounter with Florentine Neoplatonism and Neoplatonic Christianity in Italy led Colet to break off a second attempt to comment on Paul's epistle to the Romans at Chapter 11, with his subsequent comments showing more influence from these sources. Because Traversarius's Latin translation of the Dionysian corpus, though circulating in manuscript as early as 1436, was first printed in 1480 (in Bruges) and followed in 1498 by the Lefévre d'Etaples's edition in Paris, Jayne establishes a *terminus post quem* of 1480 (when Colet would have been but about 13 years old!) and a probable *terminus ante quem* of 1501, since this was the year, according to More's letter, of Grocyn's lectures, the latter assumed to have shaken Colet's confidence due to their alleged exposure of the "fraudulence of the Pseudo-Dionysius." Jayne narrows the time-frame further by suggesting that Colet's study of the *Hierarchies* was interrupted by his 1498 reading of Ficino's *Epistolae*, the apparent source of a brief passage in the "postscript" Colet added to his comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy* (28–29).

J.B. Trapp challenged both Lupton's implicit and Jayne's explicit chronologies by noting similarities among several extant manuscripts transcribed on

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lectures (302). Trapp concludes that reliance by Erasmus on Grocyn's reputation "grows more definite and circumstantial with his increasing need to prove his orthodoxy" (302). In the 1869 edition and translation of the two *Hierarchies*, Lupton describes the manuscripts known to him (xii–xv) and links Colet's study of Dionysius to interests in Neoplatonism prompted by contact with the writings of Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino, placing the onset of Colet's comments on the *Hierarchies* during a stay in Italy ca. 1492–1498 (xv–xxxii).

vellum by Peter Meghen. These include an Emmanuel College Cambridge MS (3. 111.12) of the Commentary on 1 Corinthians; a Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS (Parker 355) of the *Expositio* of Romans 1–5 and the fragmentary *Letters to Radulphus* on the Mosaic Account of the Creation; and the three Dionysian works included in the British Library MS, this latter unknown to Lupton. Taken together Trapp calls these works an incomplete "collected edition" on vellum, meant perhaps as Colet's intellectual legacy or as summary drafts of an unfinished project; missing from this "edition" are the commentary on all of Romans and a treatise on the mystical body, these appearing elsewhere, in a transcript of the *Celestial Hierarchy* and its post-script corrected on paper in Colet's hand and a scribe's (Cambridge University Library MS Gg.iv.26). Trapp speculates that the two works unique to the Cambridge University Library MS probably were transcribed and lost or were scheduled to be transcribed to complete an edition inscribed by Meghen's neat, humanist hand. For all the works in this apparent collection, blanks remain for illumined initials and there are some gaps in line, apparently left due to uncertain readings of exemplars. Such features suggest that the edition remained unfinished at the time of Colet's death in 1519. Trapp speculates that these transcriptions may be the works "on parchement" mentioned in Colet's will.[60]

Looking at the project as a whole, Trapp established a likely *terminus post quem* for the "collected edition" as 1504, when Meghen arrived in England and just two years before Colet commissioned him to produce a high-quality, parallel-text transcript of the Latin gospels and epistles as a memorial to his father, Henry Colet.[61] Though not explicitly stated, Trapp's *termi-*

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[60] "John Colet, His Manuscripts" 217, citing Knight, *Life* 401–402. Trapp notes that John Bale recorded the discovery of these MSS "in secretissimo suae bibliothecae loco" (*Scriptorum illustrium Maioris Brytanniae ... Catalogus* [Basle 1537], 609).

[61] Of these three uniform folio volumes, two exist at the British Library (MSS Royal I.E. V; the Epistles, dated 1 November 1506 and the gospels of Luke and John, dated 7 September 1509) and one at Cambridge University Library (Dd.7.3; the gospels of Matthew and Mark, dated 8 May 1509). See Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts and the Ps.-Dionysius" 208–210; "Christopher Urswick and His Books: The Reading of Henry VIII's Almoner," *Renaissance Studies* 1.1 (1987): 53, 48–70. Gleason 71 incorrectly states that the earliest date linking Colet and Meghen is 1509, the date of the colophons for the memorial transcriptions of the Gospels. But the colophon of the similarly formatted Epistles, dated November 1506, links the two: see the reproduced colophon in Andrew Brown, "The Date of Erasmus' Latin Translation of the New Testament," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8 (1984), 353. Following a lead from Trapp, Brown speculates that a manuscript containing Acts and Revelation, the books missing from the prior volumes and inscribed in the post-1516 hand of Meghen and formatted similarly in size and with columns of the Latin Vulgate and Erasmus's

nus ante quem could presumably be as late as Colet's death in 1519, though Meghen might have continued with the project for some interval after that. For the British Library MS of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* specifically, the earliest extant version must post-date 1504, although the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the post-script, found independently in the Cambridge University Library paper MS in an unknown hand, could in theory have been composed somewhat earlier. Although Trapp did not preclude the possibility that the commentaries on the *Hierarchies* had been drafted at some date earlier than 1504, his research establishes an early limit for the origin of several manuscripts.

Although Gleason allows for a wide range of dates, he advances new theories in an effort to limit some of them. Citing evidence from personal contacts, he theorizes that the earliest date for the meeting of Colet and Peter Meghen and therefore of the transcription of the manuscripts comprising the "collected edition" was mid-1505, after Colet arrived in London to undertake his new duties as Dean of St. Paul's, a date supported also by references that point to a roughly similar time: Gleason concludes, therefore, that the *terminus post quem* of the "five substantive manuscripts" in the "collected edition" could be no earlier than 1505–1506.[62] Gleason's argument for a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 1516 hinges principally on the argument that a manuscript housed in Trinity College, Cambridge (0.4.44), had, contrary to the usual view, been correctly attributed to Colet by Thomas Gale, high-master of St. Paul's School from 1672–1697, who had annotated the flyleaf: "This appears to be the work of John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's in London: much that is in it is clearly identical with what Colet wrote in his own hand in the volume [now lost] preserved in the Chapter house of St. Paul's church,

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Latin translation, completed the set, but this latter MS may not have been commissioned by Colet, since the volume (Hatfield House, Cecil Papers MS 324) was likely produced between 1518 and 1533. Apparently based on the evidence of their content, Trapp offers that Meghen's copies for the "collected edition" might not have been made "before the 1510s," opening the possibility of a *terminus ante quem* that approaches Colet's death.

[62] In that his father Henry and mother had many connections in London, Colet had reason to be in London occasionally prior to 1505, perhaps with opportunities to meet Meghen through his connections to Christopher Urswick, who had employed the scribe in 1503. In a letter thought to date from 1504, Thomas More invited Colet to return to London from some rural area, though it is possible Colet had recently spent some time in the city between terms or at intervals during his service as a vicar at Dennington and Stepney, the latter within view of London's eastern wall (Lochman, "Between Country and City" parags. 15–18). The paper copy of the Cambridge University Library MS suggests that at least several works predated Colet's commissioning of Meghen, even if no evidence therein relates to the commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.

and accordingly this work is as it were a revised version."[63] If Gale's identification of this work as Colet's is correct and if its characteristics of language and style support Colet's authorship (although neither condition has yet been firmly established), the manuscript, which seems not to have been produced before 1516 due to references to Erasmus's 1516 *Annotationes*, would, Gleason argues, demonstrate that Colet was still working on Paul long after the Oxford lectures of 1498. This consideration opens again the *possibility* that all the manuscripts in Meghen's "collected edition" could be the work of a "mature scholar" rather the recent university student Seebohm, Lupton, and Jayne had supposed (70). This expansion of possible dates generally supports Trapp's, but Gleason goes on to distinguish the Trinity MS from the commentaries on Paul's epistles in that it frequently refers to Erasmus's *Annotationes*, along with the 1516 *Novum Instrumentum*. Gleason draws the conclusion that, due to age, illness, or some other reason making him unable to master the Greek of which Erasmus's scholarship had demonstrated the importance, Colet settled upon commissioning this "collected edition" on vellum in order to "give his works permanent form," even though the project remained incomplete at his death in 1519 (73–74). Warrant for this argument is lacking, given that the tenuous association of the Trinity MS to Colet depends on the accuracy of Gale's notation, made more than 150 years after Colet's death; on the unproven assumption that the Trinity MS is linked to a

[63] Qtd. by Gleason 69; 356 n. 4 includes Gale's Latin, which is somewhat less certain in identifying the MS with the books than the translation suggests, particularly in its observations regarding the work's character as a "second writing" ("secundae curae") and its unusual, last-to-first order of the abstracts of Paul's epistles: "Videtur esse Joannnis Coleti Decani S^{ti} Pauli Lond: Multa hic plane eadem sunt cum iis quae scripsit manu sua Coletus, in libro qui servatur in Capitulari domo Ecclesiae S^{ti} Pauli: atque adeo haec sunt quasi secondae curae. Multa hic parum emendata scribuntur, quo vitio Coletus laborabat. Ea subinde notantur, et corrigentur. Ordo Epistolarum S^{ti} Pauli non est idem hic, qui est in illo altero libro manu Coleti scripto." Gale's tentative attribution had been noted but doubted by Seebohm (*Oxford Reformers* 33), Lupton (*Opuscula quaedam theologica* vii–ix, xlvii–lii), and Trapp "John Colet, His Manuscripts" 216. Among these, Lupton offers the fullest account of the manuscript in its Elizabethan, secretarial hand. He quotes Gale's affixed notation, describes the MSS format of disjunct apothegms and abstracts or abbreviations of Paul's epistles from Hebrews to Romans, and prints as of doubtful authorship the Latin text of a commentary on 1 Peter. Lupton notes that the abbreviations and apothegms frequently borrow from Erasmus's *Annotationes* and allows the possibility that Colet might have had use of these prior to his death; he also notes passing resemblances to Colet's style and themes in passages focused on the corruptions of the present world and its stern view of marriage (xlix–l) although the Trinity MS's format is more systematic than exegetical in its use of the epistle, tends to use more frequent neo-Latin, and is more reliant on Erasmus's *Annotationes* than is true of Colet's comments on the epistles.

reassessment of Colet's past writings; and on the conviction the writer determined quickly to produce a memorial such that all works in the edition, including the Dionysian as well as Pauline writings, share a *terminus ante quem* of 1516 (but why not extend the date to Colet's death in 1519, given the work's incomplete form?[64]). Even if Gleason's reasoning did apply to Paul's writings, it would less likely do so for the British Library MS since the *Hierarchies* and *De sacramentis ecclesiae* have little if any connection to Erasmus's *Annotationes* and *Novum Instrumentum*. Whatever its relationship to the Trinity MS, the British Library MS shares the "collected editions" format of Colet's commentaries on Paul's epistles, though it remains in a still less polished state. That condition (described below) opens the possibility, raised by Trapp and inadvertently encouraged by Gleason, that it was incomplete when Colet fell gravely ill and died in 1519, with the author's corrections ending abruptly after folio i4^{r}.

Gleason attempts to narrow the range of dates for Colet's comment on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* further, to 1512–1516, by advancing a series of claims: 1) The composition of the work, with its analysis of and critique of clerical hierarchy and morality, seems linked to the scandal of clerical corruption surrounding the so-called "Hunne affair."[65] 2) The works forming the "collected edition" on vellum all belong to a similar period, a span of one or two years. 3) The Cambridge University Library MS on paper, likewise corrected in Colet's hand, includes comments on 1 Corinthians and the *Celestial Hierarchy*, and was drafted at approximately the same time as the "collected edition," since Colet, an habitual "rewriter," made few changes therein with the consequence that the Cambridge University Library MS and the British Library MS must have been written close in time. 4) The position within the British Library MS of the comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*—

[64] Gleason anticipates this question by citing Andrew Brown's study of changes in Meghen's holograph, beginning around 1517/1518 and extending into the 1520s, some features of which do not appear in BL, though he notes Brown's caveat that Meghen's style was inconsistent for some time (76); see note 66 below.

[65] After running afoul of London's clerical authorities for failure to pay ecclesiastical mortuary fees in 1512, Richard Hunne died in prison under questionable circumstances, with his death rumored to have links to Colet's sometime enemy, Bishop Richard Fitzjames (see p. 57 below). According to Gleason, the resulting popular animosity against interference of ecclesiastical authorities in legal processes is evident in Colet's comments against clerical and particularly episcopal abuse of the laity (85–90); Kaufman, *The "Polytyque Churche"* 65–67. See ExR 2. 227–228, comparing Paul's admonition against contention between Rome's Gentiles and Jews to the controversy between "sacerdotes et laycos" in the Christian church; ER 14. 219–220, on ecclesiasts' excessive concern for tithes.

that is, following the comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy* in both the British Library and St. Paul's School MSS—indicates it was written "not long after" the one preceding it in the MSS, with *De sacramentis ecclesiae* following both the other Dionysian works in order in the two volumes wherein it appears, assuming that the order of the works within the MS coincide with the order of composition. 5) The Emmanuel College "collected edition" on vellum of the 1 Corinthians commentary provides a close date for the composition of the comment on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, since the works appear together in the Cambridge University Library MS; therefore, the comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* may be assumed to have been written shortly thereafter (90–93).[66] One may appreciate the ingenuity of Gleason's arguments without necessarily granting the various assumptions they require. In fact, several raise unanswered, even unanswerable questions: What specific evidence links the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* to the suspicious circumstances of Hunne's death? Why must all the writings in the "collected edition" have been produced within one or two years? Why assume that the works in the MS would be bound in a way that matched the order of composition?

Gleason notes that the British Library MS is "much less finished in appearance" than the companion volumes, drawing attention to its different and, perhaps, later transcription. In addition to lacking illuminated initials like the other works in the collected edition, the corrections in Colet's hand are sporadic, with gaps left by Meghen for the author filled inconsistently in the first two-thirds of the transcript and not at all thereafter. Unlike other MSS in the "collected edition," Meghen did not here erase ragged scribal guidelines. One might conclude that the degree of incompletion of this volume may indicate a late date relative to that of the more finished MSS in the "edition." Perhaps this level of incompletion resulted from Colet's mounting commitments to the Cathedral, diocese, and Privy Council, or, alternatively, from illness occasioned by periodic bouts of fever that preceded his death on 16 September 1519.[67] Or perhaps it reflects Colet's ongoing efforts

[66] In passing, Gleason also argues that the MS's *terminus ante quem* may be limited to 1517 or 1518 due to paleographic evidence of a shift in these years between an "earlier" and "later" humanist style evident generally in Meghen's practice, based on Andrew Brown's "The Date of Erasmus' Latin Translation of the New Testament," 355–358. Gleason acknowledges, however, that "for a time after Meghen altered the form of any given character he tended to go back and forth between the old form and the new" (76). The most identifiable point, the shape of Meghen's "h" appears consistently in the so-called "earlier" form (ca. 1517–1518) in the British Library MS.

[67] Gleason 74, 261; Lupton 224–231.

to relate the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* to the church he knew, with this work's complaints about ecclesiology and clerical immorality often registering in the range of language employed at public events such as the Convocation Sermon and the oration delivered at the installation of Thomas Wolsey as cardinal (18 November 1515), wherein he pointedly outlined in Dionysian fashion the cardinal's representation among men as a red-capped *pontifex*, one who represents among men the fiery love of the Seraphim in the celestial hierarchy.[68] Distinctive thematic emphases and rhetorical modulation in the commentary in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, together with its pattern of more-frequent and longer digressions, allows the possibility that Colet composed the works at differing times, perhaps with different purposes or interests in mind. One might suppose that the briefer commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* preceded the more authorially purposive, complex readings in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and that the latter preceded the seemingly corrective and supplementary *De sacramentis ecclesiae*. Yet one must admit that no firm evidence exists to confirm this order, let alone specific dates.

If one must therefore weigh the arguments and qualify the conclusions of recent chronologies of Colet's writings, particularly as regards the comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Gleason and Trapp together still must be credited with freeing the works from Colet's years as a student. Moreover, they open the prospect that Colet engaged in a long series of revisions of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* over many years, from his marginal notations on Ficino's *Epistolae* through the relatively late collected edition. Whatever his motive, Colet sought to give his writings a more enduring form, and it seems likely that a project of such a type would begin later in one's career—bearing in mind, of course, that he was only fifty-two at

[68] Gleason reads the account of the sermon and ceremony as a sign of adulation of the new cardinal, with Colet being "Wolsey's man" (244–246); however, humanist orators had subtle means of encouraging behavior among superiors by presenting ideal types in demonstrative rhetoric, using the subjunctive and appealing to the increased virtue of those living in the Christian era. See John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame*, and John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1983), especially 115–143. Similarly, in the Convocation Sermon, Colet upbraids the immorality of the clergy by comparing it to the ideal "dignitie of pristhode," which exceeds that of kings and emperors and "is egall with the dignite of angels" (Lupton, *A Life* 297). See CEH 7. 3 below for Richard Fiddes's transcript of a manuscript account of Wolsey's installation, with a summary of Colet's address, from the Herald's Office, Cerem. Vol. 5, 219 ff., printed in Fiddes's *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London: J. Knapton, 1726), 201–202.

his death. Although one cannot draw conclusions related to specific dates, there remains the vestigial presence of historical events such as the Hunne affair or the installation of Wolsey, and these again draw one into the second decade of the sixteenth century. This edition therefore sees the comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* as an accrual of Colet's thought and experience, with a *terminus post quem* ca. 1504 and a *terminus ante quem* ca. 1519, with the most likely period within that span being 1512–1519. Trapp is reluctant to assign a date past 1510 due to his belief that Colet's enthusiasm for Pico della Mirandola and the Kabbalah was a "phase" spawned during his years in Italy that later cooled, as seen in his fading opinion of Reuchlin after publication of the *Pythagorical and Cabbalistic Philosophy*, which he viewed skeptically in a 1517 letter to Erasmus.[69] But no evidence supports Colet's rejection of Pico's early thought, despite More's apparently having done so in making his choice of a Christmas gift in 1510 an abridged translation of Giovanni Francesco Pico's *Life* of Pico della Mirandola (1496), a work that emphasized the Florentine Italian's late-in-life rejection of philosophy, sensuality, and the trappings of court and humanism he had formerly embraced. Overlapping interests in esoteric thought and purposes are common in Dionysius and Pico, and they support Colet's notion of practices in the early church. Colet may well have wished to retain these elements of his study of Dionysius in commissioning Meghen's transcript of what Trapp refers to as a "copy-summation" of his work, not so much a legacy for his life as an aid to work left incomplete due to his unexpected death.[70]

Although knowing a specific date of composition and transcription of the comments on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* would simplify interpretation, we might in any case better consider Colet's comments a series of palimpsests, with the British Library MS serving as the last in a series overwritten at various times as Colet developed a more coherent theology and world view, adding or altering exposition and rhetorical admonitions against ecclesiastical abuses. At an earlier stage, the work may have comprised summary more akin to the simpler exposition and comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy*—that early version expanded and overwritten in response to later preoccupations and insights, including those highlighted below.

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[69] *Trapp*, *Erasmus, Colet, and More*, 132–133.

[70] *Erasmus, Colet, and More*: "Colet seems to have been the only Tudor Englishman to have been fired by [Pico's] eclectic philosophy rather than by his *piagnone* piety" (123); 127–129, 133.

Problems and Themes

Turning to Colet's specific interests in Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, we immediately face difficult questions. Why would Colet find Dionysius's *Hierarchies* of sufficient interest to devote two commentaries to them and compose a treatise designed to reintegrate them with early modern theories of the sacraments? And why would he show particular interest in the more controversial—and less frequently expounded—of the two? Moreover, granted a specific interest in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, why would Colet accept its authority in light of doubts concerning the author's authenticity—doubts more likely to be realized the later the date of the British Library MS? Colet offers no easy answers to these and other questions, so tentative answers must be sought in his writings, their contexts, and those related to "Dionysius," that shadowy personage whose identity developed (or re-developed) over centuries, after the reference to the "Dionysius" of Acts 17:34.

a. *Dionysian Influence: Theology and Ecclesiology*

In context, the narrator of Acts names Dionysius just after describing the arrival of Paul at Athens, where he is said to have faced a hostile audience of Jews and Gentile philosophers, including Epicureans and Stoics who complained of Paul's strange new deities. Brought to the Areopagus, the name both of a council that served as the chief Roman court in Athens and a hill west of the Acropolis (17:15–20), Paul claimed to be "deeply distressed" at sight of the Athenians' idols (17:16). His comments were tinged with irony: Paul explained that he could supply the Athenians a god—the resurrected Christ—to take the place of a monument to an "unknown god" (17:23–27), and he quoted from two Greek sources, replacing Greek deities of creation and life with the Christian God (17:28). Finally, he admonished Athenians to repent before one raised from the dead would judge the world (17:30–31). Although some of the assembled scoffed, others "joined him and became believers, including Dionysius the Areopagite" (17:34). From the start, then, the narrator of Acts identifies Dionysius as a convert, one embedded in Greek culture but willing to submit to the Christian deity due to Paul's evangelical appeal, this interface of cultures in itself, perhaps, serving as inspiration for religious humanists.

Whatever his precise position on the authenticity of the Dionsyian writings, the interest of Colet in them must be seen in the context of authority traditionally accorded their "author" as a disciple of Paul and in view of their

historical reception. Soon after its composition, the *corpus dionysiacam* was assumed to have been authored by the convert named in Acts—a conclusion encouraged by the writer, who assumed the pseudonymous mantle of the disciple. Early on, though, some, particularly Christians in the East, doubted their authority and orthodoxy. The earliest known reference to the Dionysian writings is that of Hypatius of Ephesus, who opposed the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, Severus, and his followers (ca. 532 CE). According to Hypatius, Dionysius likewise claimed "a single nature of the incarnate Logos" that contradicted a decree of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, which had affirmed two natures in Christ.[71] The writings attributed to Dionysius, which appeared in both Syriac and Greek versions around 536 CE, also raised concerns due to Donatist-leaning restrictions on the efficacy of sacraments due to pastoral immorality, as well as discourse on the Trinity drawn more from Proclus's metaphysical triads than Augustine's teachings.[72]

The tradition of pseudonymous writing helped give rise to such concerns: later writers could seek refuge or, alternatively, gain authority by writing under the name of a respected figure of the primitive church or a prominent Christian writer, whether or not they were conversant with doctrines emerging from councils that strove to define Christian belief and practices. Alternatively, writers could clarify or address a questionable doctrine left ambiguous by an earlier authority. Jaroslav Pelikan cites the example of the *Hypomnēsticon* attributed to Augustine and used to emphasize the distinction between divine foreknowledge and predestination that Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, such as *On the Predestination of the Saints* and *On the Gift of Perseverance*, had left ambiguous. Ironically, Pelikan observes, subsequent readers sometimes cited pseudonymous writings more frequently and attributed to them more importance than to the historical figures or

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[71] Jaroslav Pelikan, "The Odyssey of Dionysian Spirituality," *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, tr. Colm Luibheid, ed. Paul Rorem (New York: Paulist P, 1987), 13–14, citing a reprint of the colloquy in *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* (Strasbourg, 1914–), 4-II. 172.

[72] Perczel 558–560 names Sergius of Reshaina as having produced the earliest of three Syriac translations; John of Scythopolis coordinated the earliest Greek translation. In Sergius's gnoseological hierarchy, DEH would be farthest removed from the most advanced, contemplative works in the corpus, the *Divine Names* and *Mystical Theology*, due to its concern to mediate the spiritual with the material. The Syriac translation includes exact quotations and paraphrase from Proclus, in contrast to the Greek, and it presents eighteen separate chapters, unlike the Greek version's seven chapters, each with three subsections (561–562). Pelikan 17–20.

writings whose authority they appropriated. This is especially true of the writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite.[73]

Despite questions of orthodoxy that appeared already in the sixth century, the authenticity and orthodoxy of Dionysius's writings received strong defense in the sixth century through the combined scholia of John of Scythopolis and Maximus the Confessor, their combined texts producing increased attention to the works in both East and West.[74] In the West the Dionysian tradition was prominent by the time of Gregory the Great, who may have encountered the Greek version of Dionysius during six years of study in Constantinople (579–585 CE). There followed efforts to render an adequate Latin translation, first by Hilduin (ca. 838 CE) and then by John Scotus Eriugena's more successful one commissioned by Charles the Bald and completed in 862 CE; in 875 CE, it appeared with revisions and comments by the papal librarian, Anastasius. Hilduin also spread biographical associations that linked the *corpus dionysiacam*, the Dionysius in Acts, and St. Denis, the martyr of Paris and patron of the abbey of Saint-Denis, an association that appealed to writers at the abbey, although Eriugena was diffident.[75] Through the cathedral school at Laon, extracts from Dionysian works appeared in sentences and the Gloss just prior to the activity spurred in the twelfth century by the monk John Sarazin of Saint-Denis, who produced a commentary on and translation of *The Celestial Hierarchy*, dedicating the translation to John of Salisbury. Hugh of St. Victor's two commentaries on *The Celestial Hierarchy* (completed between 1125 and 1137) were later conflated, and they contributed to a continuing Dionysian influence among

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[73] Pelikan 23, 11–12.

[74] The *corpus dionysiacam* entered both Eastern and Western traditions through the sixth-century scholia of John of Scythopolis, a *scholasticus* and ca. 540 CE bishop of Scythopolis. His prologue and comments on Dionysian works (including the *Mystical Theology*, *Divine Names*, and ten letters as well as the two *Hierarchies*) defended both the authority of their author as Paul's disciple and their teachings on the Trinity, Christ, creation, soteriology, and resurrection of body and soul (Paul Rorem and John C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus*, 23–45). John's scholia were conflated with comments by Maximus the Confessor, whose reputation as a "saint and hero of the faith for both West and East" advanced the authority of the Dionysian writings at the same time he, like John of Scythopolis, purged them of heterodox opinions (Pelikan 23). The conflated comments appear in the *Scholia sancti Maximi in opera beatis Dionysii* translated and printed in Migne's *Patrologiae*.

[75] Jean Leclerq, "Influence and Noninfluence of Dionysius in the Western Middle Ages," *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, tr. Colm Luibheid, ed. Paul Rorem (New York: Paulist P, 1987), 26–27; Paul Rorem, *Eriugena's Commentary on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), 8–14. See also Rorem, "The Early Latin Dionysius: Eriugena and Hugh of St. Victor," 601–604.

the Victorines, especially Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) and Thomas Gallus, abbot of Verceil (1200–1246), the latter having authored an exposition on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and the entire Dionysian corpus. Gilbert of Poitiers (1070–1154) introduced Dionysius to scholastic theologians such as, in the first generations, Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1170–1253) and Albertus Magnus (1206–1280), both of whom translated and commented on the Dionysian corpus, including the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*; Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who commented on the *Divine Names* and who cited Dionysius about 1,700 times in all his writings; and Bonaventure (1221–1274), the Seraphic Doctor who referred to Dionysius as the "prince of mystics" while, as discussed below, infusing Dionysian affect into his theological system.[76]

Jean Leclerq identifies a divergence in the influence of Dionysius after the twelfth century, with one strand leaning to devotional mysticism, whose adherents include Master Eckhart (d. 1327), John of Ruysbroeck (d. 1381), and Dionysius the Carthusian (d. 1471). The other tends to the scholastic, philosophical, and theological: Jean Gerson (d. 1429), Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464), and Marsilio Ficino (d. 1499). To this latter group one should add Ambrosius Traversarius (1386–1439) and Lefèvre d'Etaples (1450–1537), whose edition of Traversarius's translation Colet is thought to have used. In opposition to both are skeptical early modern receptions, including, as also discussed above, the critical examinations of Dionysius's authenticity in the *Annotations* of Lorenzo Valla (1406–1457), printed by Erasmus in 1505, and, possibly, the lectures (ca. 1498) of William Grocyn.

Leclerq introduces another dimension of Dionysian influence: its relationship to medieval ecclesiology, specifically that of John of Paris in the thirteenth century. The *Hierarchies*' mediated distribution of divine power and grace could and did serve as a prop for representatives of God who

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[76] Leclerq 29; Pelikan 21. Thomas Gallus's glosses on EH and the rest of the Dionysian corpus appear in *Explanatio in Libros Dionysii*, ed. Declan Anthony Lawell (Turnholt: Brepols, 2011), *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medieaeualis*, 223. Rorem, "The Early Latin Dionysius" notes that Hugh's prologue and comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy* emphasize the Seraphim's voluntarism and operation of love as superior to knowledge (604–611), although this emphasis does not appear often in his other works. Hugh did not comment on DEH. Rorem concludes, "Even someone who comes to Hugh eagerly looking for tracks of the Areopagite will not find hard evidence. The Victorine's descriptions of specific sacraments and orders [in his *De sacramentis*] show no trace of *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* .... Overall, Hugh reflects the Augustinian appropriation of Platonism, not a Dionysian one" (608). In commenting on the love of God by the Seraphim, Hugh deploys sexually charged language to describe the fruition of spiritual desire, akin to late medieval mysticism and Colet's language describing the clergy's marriage to God in SE (609–611). See also David Burrell and Isabelle Moulin, "Albert, Aquinas, and Dionysius," *Modern Theology* 24.4 (October 2008), 633–649.

wielded civil or religious power in the human order. Leclerq writes, "Supporters of a pontifical theocracy concluded [...] that the Pope held power over all" in the ecclesiastical realm, while others, like John of Paris, "thought this was equally true in the temporal order, independent of spiritual power." In another variation, the anonymous twelfth-century author of *Tractatus de quidam philosophia et partibus eius* allowed the pope supremacy over both the ecclesiastical hierarchy on his right hand and the secular political authorities on his left.[77] Dionysius's principles concerning mediated divine power became "a key to interpreting canon law," and the resulting debates concerning ecclesiastical authority in matters of moral, civil, and common law contributed to ongoing "political-religious disputes" such as the investiture controversy.[78] Of course, competing claims of church and state to the authority of a divine hierarchy contributed to the political and religious turmoil of sixteenth-century England, evident in Henry VIII's attempts to limit the political sway of the papacy during the wars in France; to obstruct its administrative authority to name legates and cardinals; and, of course, during the 1530s, to abrogate its authority to resolve the question of the king's divorce. Claims to hierarchic authority by theocratic monarchs and monarchical theocrats became often virtually interchangeable, with the limited success of movements for conciliar ecclesiastical reform displaced in England by Parliament's statutory "revolution" of 1534, when nearly all bishops—John Fisher excepted—opted to uphold a "monarchical church, closely linked to the crown"; to serve loyally as the "King's men" rather than

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[77] We are indebted to Professor Edgar Laird of Texas State University for this reference. See G. Dahan's "Une introduction a la philosophie au XII^e siècle: *Le Tractatus quidam de philosophia et partibus eius*" (*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 49 [1982]: 155–193, especially 178–179 and 193), the latter setting out Dionysius's celestial model of nine angelic orders and then considering its earthly type, divided into two hierarchies, one ecclesiastical and one secular, both surmounted by the pope: "primum locum tenet dominus papa, a quo dextro latere dimittuntur patriarche, cardinales et primates, archiepiscopi, episcopi, sacerdotes, diaconi, subdiaconi, acoliti, ut in his exorchiste et ceteri intelligantur. Sinistro autem latere primo loco imperatores, reges, duces, demum consules, principes et barones, demum milites et pastores, sic ut in pastoribus omnes artifices intelligantur." Note that in this version Dionysius's sacraments have been replaced by a triad of ecclesiastical officials, set in a superior position on the "right" relative to their secular counterparts to the pope's "left."

[78] Leclerq 31. Also see Leclerq 118: "La doctrine dionysienne ainsi appliquée ne favorisait pas seulment la centralisatione pontificale; elle donnait aussi un fondement speculative à l'idéal imperial: premier minister du pape, l'empereur est, après lui, le hièrarque suprême auquel sont subordonnés tous les pouvoirs humains. Au XIII^e siècle, on n'allait plus, comme autrefois, jusqu'à lui attribuer une participation au pouvoir sacerdotal: on se refusait à lui reconnaître même un ordre mineur."

the pope's; and to acknowledge secular authority through customary rites that were nearly as sacred as those of the church. Conversely, the papacy continued to import the symbols and trappings of worldly monarchs as a prop for religious authority.[79]

Ecclesio-political appropriations of the Dionysian hierarchies served many and varied commentators, theologians, and sovereigns although, as discussed previously, the number commenting directly on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* were comparatively few in comparison to those commenting on the celestial hierarchy or Dionysius's mystical and apophatic/cataphatic writings. The best known medieval commentaries, by Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Gallus, addressed scholastic questions in glosses that were expository and paraphrastic.[80] In addition to a few medieval translations and commentaries, however, one finds significant *adaptations* of Dionysius's hierarchic thinking to medieval ecclesiology and theology. Gleason was the first to observe Colet's reference to Bonaventure's *Breviloquium* at the opening of *De sacramentis ecclesiae*, and he compared Colet's approach to Bonaventure's in their shared emphases on Neoplatonic exemplarity as a means of mediation between divine and human intelligence; Augustinian voluntarism rather than scholastic and Thomistic intellectualism; and a "theocentric" focus that highlighted lapsed humanity's sinfulness, misery, and lack of being.[81] Such views served as a platform, Gleason contended, for Colet's dualistic "universe in which everything distinctively

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[79] David Aers and Nigel Smith, "English Reformations," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40.3 (2010), 428–429, citing G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007), 43, 172–173. Aers and Smith note that of all Henry's bishops, only John Fisher resisted the King's claim to the pinnacle of the English ecclesiastical hierarchy (429).

[80] Albertus provides a scholastic reading of DEH that mixes a Latin translation and literal paraphrase with *quaestiones* and *solutiones* related to definitions and doctrines: see *Super Dionysium De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, ed. Maria Burger (Aschendorff: Monasterii Westfalorum, 1999). Thomas's commentary on DEH is a phrase-by-phrase and word-by-word paraphrase: see *Thomae Galli: Explanatio in Libros Dionysii*, ed. Declan Anthony Lawell, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuation Mediaevalis* 223 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 733–984. Of commentators on Dionysian writings, including Grosseteste, Albertus, and Thomas Aquinas (who comments on the *Divine Names*), F. Edward Cranz, observes, "In a rough fashion, one can say that all these interpreters take Dionysius out of his own context and put him into their philosophies of being …. The main position inherited from Augustine is that while Dionysius has placed God 'beyond being,' as had the Neoplatonists, Augustine followed Exodus 3:14: SUM QUI SUM, and identified God with being instead of placing Him beyond it" ("Cusanus' Use of Pseudo-Dionysius," *Nicholas of Cusa and the Renaissance*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000], 140).

[81] Gleason 196–207.

human has been swept away" in the Christian world, wherein the Neoplatonists' exemplary "image" served as a "makeweight to mask the ontological gap" Colet had "abruptly opened up between God and Man" rather than serving to mediate and unite the divine and human.[82]

By focusing on medieval underpinnings of Colet's writings that both enrich and limit their significance, Gleason sidesteps earlier emphases on Colet's debts to continental contemporaries at the forefront of philosophy and theology such as Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino.[83] While twentieth-century scholars writing in the wake of Paul Oskar Kristeller may have over-emphasized the Italians' contributions to Colet's thought, Colet's indebtedness to Bonaventure, though demonstrable, is still more limited. Gleason argues that both Bonaventure and Colet subordinate philosophy, reason, and logic to a theology centered on the power, knowledge and action of God and emphasize that the human will is responsible for sin but not for salvation, but such correspondences are common in the Augustinian tradition that had merged with the Dionysian after Eriugena, and Bonaventure's emphasis upon mystical contemplation modeled in St. Francis as the principal means of linking the celestial and human is at odds with Colet's overriding emphasis on Christ's incarnation and redemption as the source of grace and on the overflow of the Spirit as the energizing force for individual and social perfection.

Following Gleason's suggestion of the influence of Bonaventure on Colet, Feisal G. Mohamed has written that Colet's writings on Dionysius are "on the cusp of medieval and Renaissance thought." Mohamed allows that, as Leland Miles, Jayne, and Trapp had shown, Colet deemed Pico's *Oratio* and Ficino's *De Raptu Pauli* of sufficient interest to quote in his commentaries, although he finds Colet's thinking "less optimistic" than the Italians' regarding humanity's contribution to salvation.[84] Like Gleason, Mohamed points

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[82] Gleason 194, drawing on a line of interpretation of Colet's thought evident in Rice, "John Colet and the Annihilation of the Natural"141–163; Porter 18–34. *In passim*, both Trapp and Arnold acknowledge and emphasize the idealism of Colet's theology and what they see as a corresponding hostility to the human.

[83] Charles Trinkaus observes that "while both Pico and Ficino were prone to utilize some of the more ecstatic passages from both the Hermetic and the Neoplatonic writings, … their ideas also derived from the Christian-Augustinian tradition," including Biblical topoi that gave rise to "supporting arguments and themes" that "had previously been asserted in the humanist discussions of man, his misery and his dignity …" (*In Our Image and Likeness* 2. 525).

[84] *In the Anteroom of Divinity: The Reformation of the Angels from Colet to Milton* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008), 16–17, citing for the reference to Pico in CEH Colet's *Commentary on*

to Colet's description in *De sacramentis ecclesiae* of marriage and the conjugal act as "images" of the sacrament of holy orders, the latter deemed truer due to its more spiritual imitation of consecrated unity. Mohamed also notes that Colet's admonitions against reading non-Christian authorities seem counter to the syncretic interest in exotic texts and cultures found in most early modern humanists and Neoplatonists. More pertinent to Colet's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, though, Mohamed, following Gleason's lead, associates this work with Bonaventure's extensive elaborations of Dionysius's angelology and ecclesiology in the *Twenty-first* and *Twenty-second Collations* on the *Hexameron*. Therein Bonaventure vastly expands Dionysius's scheme by replacing Dionysius's three triadic orders (i.e., the three sacraments of baptism, synaxis or eucharist, and consecration of oils; three ranks of consecrated clergy [hierarchs, priests, deacons], and three ranks of unconsecrated Christians [monks, the laity, and those being purified]) with three distinct ecclesiastical hierarchies, each with nine ranks within three triads topped by beings who contemplate God. Bonaventure's three hierarchies extrapolate from Dionysius by identifying them with attributes of the Trinity: the power of the Father, sacred knowledge of the Son, and the action of the Spirit (*Collatio* 21.17). Elsewhere, Bonaventure evaluates and subdivides these traits such that knowledge (elevating/transcendent, speculative/illumined, and discerning/determining) is followed by power (supreme, manly, and triumphant), and by action (perfecting, illuminating, and purifying), with all these traits used to frame both Dionysius's ranks of angels and Bonaventure's idiosyncratic framework of Christian ranks in the church militant (21.28–30). Bonaventure identifies the three ecclesiastical hierarchies 1) with progressive revelation in history (in ranks ranging from apostles down to regular clergy), 2) with the profusion of grace as power within the *ecclesia* (from the pope down to the church porter), and 3) with the activity of the church militant (from the contemplative elevation represented in St. Francis down to the "mixed" contemplative and active pontifical, sacerdotal, and ministerial ranks, and thence to the lower "active" ranks of the laity) (22.2–23). Not surprisingly given Bonaventure's allegiance, this sophisticated hierarchy privileges the contemplative life of the Franciscans at the expense of regular and secular clergy, with St. Francis set at a level comparable to that of the apostles and pope among men and the Seraphim among angels.

First Corinthians, tr. and ed. Bernard O'Kelly and Catherine A.L. Jarrott (Binghamton: MRTS, 1987), 259, 17, 329 n. 7; see for a brief survey of Colet's uses of Italian sources Trapp, "An English Late Medieval Cleric and Italian Thought" 235. Lupton, CCH 16.36 n. 1, makes the link to Ficino's *Epistolae* and *De raptu pauli*; see Jayne 147.

Developed most fully in Chapters 5 and 6 of his commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Colet develops an ecclesiology that likewise deviates from Dionysius, but with less exuberant embellishment and a firm emphasis on the priority of the consecrated secular orders within the human hierarchy. As mentioned previously, Colet inaccurately renders Dionysius's ecclesiastical hierarchy by setting pontifical, sacerdotal, and diaconal ranks atop the ecclesiastical hierarchy (in place of Dionysius's three sacraments) and by placing beneath them a triadic order composed of monks, laity, and those undergoing purification who are at the threshold of the church—catechumens and penitents undergoing reconciliation. Colet pointedly laments the disuse of Dionysius's primitive rites of consecration for monks and asserts the need for consecration at all ecclesiastical ranks, down to the ranks of catechumens and penitents (CEH 6. 3). Colet's human hierarchy remains somewhat disorderly in that it lacks a congruently triadic lower group. The third order consists of disorderly feminine "matter" set below and shaped by masculine "agents" from among the first two triads of the church and, again following Traversarius's adaptation of Dionysius, Colet sets penitents (not clearly distinguished from those in the third rank of the preceding order) and catechumens against energumens (those possessed by demons) and apostates (CEH 6.1). The imperfect shape of Colet's ecclesiastical hierarchy, which reflects Christian society's incomplete attainment of the perfect hierarchy and mystical body of the heavenly Jerusalem, contrasts with the spiritual perfection of the *ecclesia* implicit in the models of Dionysius and Bonaventure, which exclude the uninitiated from their ranks. For Colet, the development of the *ecclesia* is progressive and its hierarchies therefore metamorphic and inclusive rather than static.

The attitude Colet held regarding the cloistered and contemplative life is unclear, but he seems to have admired the ideals of regular clergy while being suspicious of their practices. He seems to have had little tolerance for monastic abuse, although, since most of our information comes from Erasmus, it is difficult to determine how much of Colet's own impressions of the monasteries emerges in Erasmus's statements. In the 1521 letter to Justus Jonas, Erasmus wrote that Colet "had very little affection for monasteries," to the point of refusing them any proceeds from his will, but added that "It was not that he disapproved of the orders, but that their members did not live up to their profession" (Ep 1211; CW 8.239). Indeed, Erasmus goes on,

> It was his own dearest wish to extricate himself from this world, if he could have found a society that had truly sworn to live the life of the Gospel. And he had given me this task on my setting out for Italy, saying he had heard that

> among the Italians there were monks who were truly wise and pious. For he did not think the religious life to be what is commonly supposed, since there is sometimes a lack of intellectual life. (Ep 1211; CW 8.239)

If these words accurately represent Colet's views, Erasmus's reference to the importance placed upon the "intellectual life" of the religious seems somewhat surprising, but the reference to living "the life of the Gospel" seems entirely consistent with what Colet frequently terms a Christian *ratio vivendi*. Mohamed also points out that Colet respected the contemplative life, as evident when he stayed, according to Erasmus, at a "little Franciscan convent adjoining the palace of Greenwich" ahead of the interview with Henry VIII wherein, as noted above, Colet had to allow for just wars after preaching a sermon at St. Paul's against warfare, just prior to Henry's 1513 campaign in France.[85] Moreover, a yearning for contemplative retirement seems evident in the "nest" Colet built whence to escape "worldly things," as recorded in a letter he wrote to Erasmus from London, 20 October 1514. Located in the house of Jesus of Bethlehem, a Carthusian monastery near the palace at Richmond and set across the Thames from the Bridgetine convent of the Daughters of Syon, Erasmus called the place a "splendid house" Colet had prepared for his old age,

> when he might be past work or broken in health and be obliged to retire from the society of men. There it was his intention to devote himself to philosophy with two or three special friends, among whom he was accustomed to include myself; but death forestalled him.[86] (Ep 314; CW 3. 314; Ep 1211; CW 8. 237)

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[85] Mohamed 27–28. Gleason set a probable date for this event of 1515, since he believed Colet sought and received support from Wolsey, become lord chancellor in that year (256). But the relationship of Colet to Wolsey is not clear, and there is no concrete evidence presented to counter Erasmus's association of the event with the beginning of the French campaign in 1513. Mohamed introduces the incident to draw a link between Colet and the Franciscan Bonaventure; however, Colet's relations with the Franciscans are also complex. Colet's brief residence in a Franciscan convent occurred even though, according to Erasmus, he was under attack by the Franciscan bishop "Bricotus," also know as Edmond Brygate or Birkead (d. 1518), a Franciscan of the Norwich convent, a preacher at court from 1510 to 1516, and bishop of St. Asaph consecrated on 15 April 1513 (Godin 578n). Godin associates Bricotus with the Oxford Franciscan Henry Standish as two "minorites" Erasmus identified as enemies who sought to turn the King against the Dean, in part by impugning Colet's refounded St. Paul's School, particularly its alleged teaching of pagan poets (Godin 540 ff. and 540n).

[86] Presumably, this site was the "charterhouse" or Carthusian monastery Colet referred to in his last will and testament (22 August 1519), with a master John Banbrughe to receive its bed along with other effects including the works of St. Jerome, while all other wood furnishings, along with the "paynted images upon the walls" he willed to remain *in situ* in perpetuity (Knight 401–402).

Although Colet clearly admired the contemplative life in the abstract, it is likely that his involvements with affairs related to the Cathedral, Chapter, St. Paul's School, and in later years the Royal Council prevented its pursuit. While Mohamed may perhaps be correct in writing that "the purging of worldly concern that Colet identifies as necessary in the journey toward God can be seen as indebted to medieval mystics [like Bonaventure] just as much as it is to Renaissance Neoplatonism," the influence appears primarily in broad outlines, with Colet having no reluctance to pursue his own interests, investigate and synthesize many different approaches, and adapt existing traditions from other perspectives for his own ends.

As relevant to Colet's commentary as medieval theology and mysticism, but less explored, are works such as John of Paris's *De potestate regia et papali* (ca. 1303).[87] In this work, John, as Colet seems to do, deployed Dionysius's ecclesiology to counter claims of hierarchical authority, in this instance Boniface VIII's claims of papal authority. John emphasized the pope's mediation between divine illumination and the human hierarchy, the latter figured (as in Colet) as a church militant, earthly city, or mystical body as well as a hierarchy proper. Closer still to Colet's use of Dionysian ecclesiology, Nicholas of Cusa used the Dionysian hierarchy as an ideal framework by which to define, legitimate, and also limit ecclesiastical authority. In *De concordantia catholica* (1433–1434), written in response to a dispute concerning the authority of the pope, prior to a shift (ca. 1437) from mild support of conciliarism back to defense of papal authority, Nicholas cited Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* as an authority that legitimated papal supremacy over bishops through the hierarchic distribution of illumination and power, these principles being found within the church militant and derived from the Trinity, the angelic hierarchies, and the church triumphant.[88] At the

[87] See Leclerq's edition in *Jean de Paris et L'Ecclèsiologie du XIII^e Siècle*. In countering the theocratic arguments advanced by Boniface in *Unum sanctum* (1302), John of Paris used Dionysian hierarchy, which Boniface had previously cited in support of the pope's claims of control of the laity, against his opponent: "Sed in veritate ex ipsa ecclesiastica hierarchia magis potest doceri contrarium dicti sui quia in ecclesiastica hierarchia secundum beatem Dionysium in infimo gradu sunt laici cum suis regibus quasi imperfecti, perfectibiles tamen, supra quos sunt perfecti et supra illos sunt perfectiores ut viri ecclesiastici, et in supremo est summus monarcha omnium, scilicet dominus papa. Constat autem secundum doctrinam eiusdem Dionysii quod infimi non reducuntur ad supremos nisi per medios, nec supremi perficiunt hierarchice infimos immediate sed mediantibus mediis. Igitur summus pontifex non habet postestatem generalem et immediatem super laicos [...]" (XVIII. 230, 22–31).

[88] *The Catholic Concordance*, ed. and trans. Paul E. Sigmund (Cambridge: Cambridge UP,

same time, Nicholas altered the downward thrust of divine emanation by establishing limits on papal authority, asserting its need to harmonize with the authority of church councils, and affirming its ultimate unity with the ranks beneath it. Like Colet later, Nicholas transferred Dionysius's hierarchic principles to Paul's figure of the mystical body. He associated ecclesiastical governance with the soul of the mystical body, wherein the Holy Spirit moves the conciliar "majority" of priests with the result that corporate members of the church preserve the "faith and law of Christ," even though some members become weak and prone to error.[89] In the *Catholic Concordance*, Nicholas went so far as to affirm that the pope is "subject to the council of the Catholic church."[90] Although Nicholas later backed away from advocacy of conciliarist themes, he continued to draw on the sacraments and liturgy as presented in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* to address what he deemed Hussite deviations from primitive "Roman" tradition.[91] Nicholas came to hold that the Roman pontiff maintains that tradition, although papal precedence in matters of faith results from pragmatic matters such as ecclesiastical custom and the historical prominence and infrastructure of pagan Rome rather than hierarchic communication with deity.

Colet's commentary usually absorbs the superior ranks of the church—pope, cardinal, archbishop, and bishop—within the word *pontifex*, Traversarius's translation of Dionysius's "hierarch," an office that, as described in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, combines the roles of teacher, administrator, and spiritual exemplar in one whose access ideally proceeds through intellect and love to divine principles. Dionysius does not distinguish the specific office of the hierarch from others in the clerical triad other than by affirming qualities consistent with its perfection and perfecting activities. The duties of Colet's *pontifex* are similarly ambiguous—sometimes they include those of Dionysius's hierarch and always those of an ideal yet visible image of the

1991), 1.6.32–1.15.59. Nicholas refers directly to DEH at 1.6.32–34, where, unlike most medieval and early modern commentators, including Colet, he follows Dionysius in identifying the sacraments as being within hierarchical order, though without specifying a particular three that Dionysius specifies as the triadic ranks within the sacramental order. On Nicholas's shifting views of conciliarism, see Sigmund's introduction, *Catholic Concordance*, xix–xxxiv.

89 *Catholic Concordance*, 1.8.43.

90 *Catholic Concordance*, 1.13.61.

91 See, for example, the *Letter to the Bohemians on Church Unity*, c. 1452, written on behalf of the papacy, where Nicholas cites Dionysius's rites of baptism and the eucharist to counter practices he attributes to the Bohemians, in *Nicholas of Cusa: Writings on Church and Reform* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008), 9.31 (on clerical communication under both species), 9.32 (on annual requirements for the eucharist), 9.36 (on baptism of adults).

God-man in material form for the benefit of the ranks below. At one place Colet explicitly contrasts the duties of the *pontifex* with the more pragmatic ones of institutional leadership and judicial determination that characterize the *episcopus* or "bishop," the latter having been established after the apostles and assigned to one "who does not so much stand above other priests in office and merit—no one acts better as a priest than anyone else—as in a certain direction and in settling disputes" (3.2), here suggesting that the offices of priest and bishop are not so distinct in perfecting activity as in particular duties. Elsewhere, Colet identifies the *episcopi officium* as following Christ's example, "constantly and assiduously proclaiming the received truth" (2.2). Tellingly, Colet often refers to the *pontifex* as though the office were spiritual rather than institutional, and he amplifies ideals of spiritual leadership through use of the subjunctive set in implicit or explicit contrast to less ideal bishops, like those Colet admonished in the Convocation Sermon:

> Aboue all thynges, let the laws be rehersed, that pertayne and concerne you my reuerent fathers and lords bysshops, laws of your iuste and canonical election, in the chaptres of your churches, with the callynge of the holy goste. For bycause that is nat done nowe a dayes, and bycause prelates are chosen often times more by fauour of men than by the grace of God; therfore truly haue we nat a fewe tymes bishops ful lyttell spirituall men, rather worldly than heuenly, sauouryng more the spirite of this worlde than the spirite of Christe.[92]

Absorbed also under the spiritual pontifex is the ideal of a pope, whose modern instances repeat the gap between the ideal represented by Christ as pontiff and bishop (see CEH 2.2). In commenting on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Colet writes,

> it should be evident how lofty, how sublime, how completely the *pontifex* ought to be situated in heaven, especially that one who is highest, whom we name 'pope,' since he should draw off his authority for the church, enlivening it to eternal life. He should draw it completely from God, concoct what has been drawn, and distribute [it] justly and lawfully through all the members, so that by means of that pontifex, who lives in God uniquely, they should

[92] Lupton, *A Life* 301; *Oratio* B3^{r-v}: "Ante omnia vero recitentur leges que pertinent & spectant ad vos reverendos Patres & dominos episcopos. Leges de iusta & canonica electione vestra in capitulis ecclesiarum cum inuocatione diuini spiritus. Nam propterea quod hoc non sit his diebus: & quia sepe eliguntur prelati magis fauoribus hominum quam gratie dei iccirco habemus certe nonnunque Episcopos parum spiritales homines magis mundanos quam celestes: sapientes magis spiritum huius mundi quam spiritum Christi."

> feast alongside him in God, satiated by divine food, and so all things in the church should proceed from God, in the recollection of all to himself, who in a healthy and chaste church is himself all in all …. [The pope] should minister faithfully and sincerely God's will and wisdom to all for the life and salvation of all, according to degree, seeking nothing except the profit of men in God and his approval by God for the dispensation of the ministries of God—who, if legitimate, does not do anything, but God in him. Yet if anyone should make the attempt by himself then he gives birth to destruction. If the same were to bring forth and carry out his will of himself, then he recklessly pours out poison to the destruction of the church. Yet this very thing has been done for many years past ….[93]

Evident here is Colet's use of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* to critique the specific office of the papacy. The passage reinstantiates Nicholas of Cusa's use of Dionysius to open consideration of the legitimate office and limits of papal authority.[94] Yet, in contrast to Nicholas's concern with the relation of the papacy to the Roman church in the post-Avignon era, Colet's comments on ecclesiastical authority are ever cognizant of embedded, corrupting authority—authority distantly centered in the pope but more immediately evident in the hierarchy of the English church at the opening of the sixteenth century.

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[93] CEH 7.3: "Ex quibus licet cernere quam altus quam sublimis quam totus in celo positus debet esse pontifex. maxime ille quidem qui summus est quem nos papam vocitamus ut sua authoritate quod in ecclesiam dirivet vivificans eam in vitam eternam. id totum ex deo hauriat haustumque decoquat et rite ac legittime per omnia membra distribuat. ut hec refecta divino pabulo in pontifice convivant illo: qui maxime vivit deo. utque omnia ex deo procedant in ecclesiam in revocationem omnium in ipsum. qui ipse in sana et casta ecclesia est omnia in omnibus … in vitam et salutem omnium fideliter et sinceriter ministret nihil querens nisi lucrum hominum in deo et approbationem sui a deo: in dispensatione ministeriorum dei [.] Qui si sit legittimus non ille agit quippiam sed deus in eo. Quod si quippiam ex semetipso attemptet venenum tunc parturit. Si idem proferat et suam ipsius voluntatem exsequatur: in ecclesie interitum perdite venenum infundit. Quod nunc quidem abhinc annis multis factum est …."

[94] See Nicholas's similar distinction between the bishop's roles as priest and governor: "although all members of the highest rank in the hierarchy, the bishops, are equal as to orders and their priestly office, nevertheless there is a graded differentiation as to governing responsibility. In this governance the hierarchy exhibits a certain concordance of one and many" (*Catholic Concordance* 1.35). Later (1.38), Nicholas acknowledges differences among bishops, but relates them to the prominence of the metropolitan sees, with Rome's pontiff possessing importance due to Rome's pre-Christian prominence and supported, as confirmed by Pope Leo IX, "by divine and human law." Nicholas concludes that "church government was added to the temporal power as the soul to the body so that where there was temporal rule and earthly government, a Christ-directed rulership was added to lead all things in peace and harmony in the appropriate way to the one Head of highest power" (1. 38–39).

Much has been made of the friction between laity and clerical authorities, including the view of the Bishop of London, Richard Fitzjames (d. 1522), concerning the Richard Hunne affair, prominent in London from 1512 through 1514 after an indictment of murder was brought against the Bishop's chancellor, Dr. William Horsey, following Hunne's mysterious death by hanging while in prison. Writing to Thomas Wolsey in 1514, Fitzjames feared the anticlerical bias of the jury would "cast and condemn my clerk though he was innocent as Abel."[95] The unexplained death received wide play, especially after Horsey was freed by claiming clerical immunity from prosecution—the whole affair invoked as an example of unrestrained clerical abuse of clerical immunity and contempt for the laity.[96] The Bishop's hostile response to Hunne's refusal to acquiesce to charges of heresy followed upon the layman's failure to pay required burial fees upon the death of his son. While this case resurrected complaints about praemunire and contributed in 1515 to Parliament's debate to withhold clerical immunities that preserved clergy such as Horsey from legal action, this event, which Gleason cites as the immediate cause for Colet's apocalyptic "language of crisis," a mode repeated at several points in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, is just one among many instances of suspected or actual ecclesiastical criminality and corruption in the 1510s.

Also advancing lay and clerical suspicion of the ecclesiastical institution was the spectacular, alleged murder of Christopher Bainbridge (1462/1463–1514), Henry VIII's much anticipated English representative in Rome, positioned within the curia for the presumed advantage of the King and nation. Having risen rapidly with the aid of his maternal uncle, Thomas Langton, and with family connections to both Henrys, Bainbridge became bishop of Durham in 1507, archbishop of York in 1508, and cardinal in 1511. His rise put him into conflict not only with other English clergy but with Italians who were developing careers within the English church, particularly the English legate Cardinal Adriano Castellesi (c. 1461–1521), who lobbied on England's behalf within the curia and, set against Castellesi, a rising papal

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[95] Quoted by S. Thompson, "Richard Fitzjames," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, September 2004. Web. 21 Jan 2010), from Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, ed. Denys Hay (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950, CS, 3rd series, 74), 229. Gleason 84–87; Kaufman, "*The Polytyque Churche*" 65–66.

[96] Colet refers to the issue of clerical immunity in the Convocation Sermon, where he emphasizes the clergy's prior responsibility to abjure worldliness: "Ye [clergy] wyll haue the churches liberte, and nat to be drawn afore secular iuges: and that … is ryght …. But if ye desire this liberte, first vnlouse your selfe frome the worldlye bondage, and from the seruices of men, and lyfte vp your selfe in to the trewe liberte, the spirituall lybertye of Christe" (Lupton, *A Life*, 303).

orator in England, Giovanni Gigli (1434–1498), who in 1497 had enjoyed Henry VII's beneficence as well as that of Pope Alexander VI in being named (non-resident) bishop of Worcester. Giovanni Gigli received the support of the King for the red hat but failed to receive it due to his unexpected death, apparently from gout. His influence continued, though, since his immediate replacement as bishop of Worcester and papal orator in England was his young cousin, Silvestro Gigli (1463–1521), the man later accused by Richard Pace, Colet's successor as Dean of St. Paul's, of plotting to have Bainbridge poisoned, in league with others including the then Bishop of Durham, Wolsey, thought to have been scheming in 1514 for the cardinal's hat that he succeeded in obtaining the following year.[97] Pace's attempted (and unsuccessful) prosecution in Rome on behalf of the deceased Bainbridge received no overt reaction from the reticent Wolsey in England or Pope Leo X, but the episode made evident to those in the know the ecclesiastical *realpolitik* that had accompanied humanism from Italy to England, and it must have contributed to rampant suspicion of the ambitions of the higher clergy and their disconnection from the interests of the laity. Colet would certainly have known Bainbridge and Giovanni Gigli through his connections at the English Hospice of St. Thomas at Rome in the 1490s and later, and he may have known Castellesi and Silvestro Gigli as well as Pace due to their somewhat later involvements at the Hospice as well as their activities in England.[98]

Papal appointments of controversial Italians as legate, orator, or non-resident bishop, with or without the King's blessing, together with lack of consideration for the opinions of the English church, contributed to the charged attitudes evident in Colet's comments, and they set the stage for later assertions of national independence from the Roman church once the King's "great matter" emerged to redirect to the sovereign the hierarchic authority that had previously been absobed by the papacy, with Dionysius's

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[97] On Castellesi, see T.F. Mayer, "Adriano Castellesi," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, September 2004. Web. 22 July 2012). Also see J.B. Trapp, "Giovanni Gigli," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, September 2004. Web. 21 Jan 2010); Cecil H. Clough, "Silvestro Gigli," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, September 2004. Web. 22 July 2012). On the rise and fall of Bainbridge, see D.S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome, 1509 to 1514* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965), 15–139, and "Christopher Bainbridge," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, September 2004. Web. 21 Jan 2010); also, see William E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protector of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974), 21–52.

[98] See Brian Newns, "The Hospice of St. Thomas and the English Crown 1474–1538" and George B. Parks, "The Reformation and the Hospice 1514–1559," 145–192, 193–217.

old idea of ecclesiastical "hierarchs" long since left behind.[99] Given these and other dramatic upsets to realizing an ideal ecclesiology in England, Colet, like Nicholas of Cusa, uses Dionysius's hierarchy to distinguish between the administrative, institutional, and judicial functions of offices such as pope, cardinal, archbishop, and the *episcopus* by pointing out their superior roles as spiritual rather than administrative leaders: they ought to be correcting, teaching, and inspiring those beneath, thereby to transmit spiritual truth and grace from one rank and one generation of Christians to the next, and enacting sacramental rites and consecrations that symbolically and actually realize God's grace in redeemed men through the Spirit's enaction of providence.[100] Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* offered the authority, claimed by the papacy itself, by which to assert the ideal of a spiritual "hierarch" or pontifex set against the diminished role of the bishop as administrator and judge or, still worse, one who perverts ecclesiastical governance due to ambition and materialism.

b. *Hierarchy, Spiritual History, and Christ*

Much as Augustine had distinguished between a heavenly and earthly city or the Eastern church had emphasized the distinction between spirit and flesh, Colet distinguished between an ideal ecclesiastical hierarchy—outlined by Dionysius—and its imperfect realization evident in experience. Colet set the earthly *ecclesia* within a familiar historical narrative, wherein, following the universal sin after the fall and the failure of the law and the angels to retrieve humanity from sin, the church militant, in theory capable of cooperating with God's Spirit in imitation of Christ, fails of its own accord to realize its divinely won potential. To Colet's horror, his contemporary church seemed to waver between actualizing its ideal and perversely rejecting it. From Dionysius, Colet absorbs the idea of the "image" as a chronological as well as visual median signifying a progressive revelation of religious epochs: prelapsarian simplicity, lapsed spiritual chaos before and then after Abraham's covenant in faith, the Mosaic law, the new law under Christ, and the heavenly kingdom. Influenced by Augustinian Platonism as well as Dionysius, Colet describes the historical epochs with the aid of imagery of dark

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[99] Gleason 88–89, cites CEH 5.3 (L 247), 6.2–3 (255), 7.3 (L 265), together with similar comments by Colet in ExR: see especially ExR 5.279–281.

[100] See below (3.2) for Colet's explanation of *episcopus* as administrator and judge of ecclesiastical disputes and Nicholas's similar distinction between bishop's roles as priest and governor (*Catholic Concordance* 1.35).

and light. After the fall, humanity existed in utter darkness; later, it received only the dim shadows of symbols and rites prescribed by Mosaic law of the Torah; and in the time since Christ God's light has become manifest in colors—a light that is still mixed due to its refraction, its brightness evident in things. Still to come is the unmediated, sun-like brilliance of divinity of the church triumphant when it realizes its perfect heavenly form. Colet relates God's progressive illumination to soteriology, liturgy, and, in Chapter 5 of his comment on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, to hermeneutics in that Christian morality, rooted in the life, action, and *ratio vivendi* of Christ, leads to the anagoge revealed by the Spirit in the scriptures and the history of the church.

In relating this scheme of religious history to Dionysius's hierarchies, Colet makes two alterations that have particularly significant effects upon their original design: 1) as noted above, Colet emphasizes the immanence of grace through Christ in a way that mitigates the mediation from the angelic to human ranks, enlarges the universal rupture between the old and new dispensation, and makes imminent the human actualization of deification if only the re-formation of the individual—the reacquisition of the spirit within the mind—can be effected in this world; and 2) he transfers Dionysius's three hierarchic sacraments (baptism, synaxis or eucharist, and the muron or consecration of oils) from a triad of energy-effusing ranks above those of the clergy and laity to ecclesiastical cognates of the Dionysian activities of purification, illumination, and perfection that hark back to a source in Christ rather than celestial mediaries. Both changes demonstrate Colet's willingness to disrupt Dionysius's orderly hierarchies and replace them with ecclesiastical schemata activated by spiritual power and activity derived from and imitative of Christ's. This shift from hierarchic order to Christ corresponds to Colet's repeated movement away from the verticality of the hierarchies, wherein differentiation and multiplicity center on varied responses of individuals (though grouped collectively in ranks) to the divine and toward Paul's conceptual metaphor for multiplicity in unity, the mystical body.

Colet crystallizes a view that is only latent in Dionysius: angelic mediation was inadequate to correct humankind's lapsed nature and actions, with the result that the salvation to be effected by "wearied" (*defatigatis*) angels was augmented and even displaced in efficacy by the fuller, more imminent and "visible" grace of Christ, the "order" and "incarnate beauty of God," who established in the church three human hierarchies.[101] Those in the

[101] CCH 3.173–174.

hierarchy instituted by Christ act with him as re-created, re-spirited "fellow-workers" in the project of creating a human hierarchy destined to become in heaven equal or even superior to that of the angels. In this historicized reading, wherein the angelic redemptive activities of purification, illumination, and perfection are rechanneled to men through Christ, his sacraments, and the church, the celestial hierarchy becomes an image and model for human imitation rather than a principal means of distributing grace and salvation. Therefore, for Colet, the function of Dionysius's angelic hierarchies is largely exemplary in the Christian era, although their emanated grace, diffused from the Godhead, retains a supplementary capacity to guide human behavior. During the religious era initiated by Moses, angels were the primary source of grace for a lapsed and ruined human hierarchy, but their failure paved the way for the redemption by Christ, who is atop all hierarchy yet also acts since the incarnation as the immediate, perfect, Kabbalistic "tenth" perfection or *teletê* and incarnate model both for the reformed soul of the individual and for the re-created, mystical body whose diverse members are unified by Christ as head and by his Spirit as vital spirits that mediate between body and mind.[102] Christ therefore serves both as the

[102] CCC 12. 248–249; CEH 4.3: "[Christ] is our *teletê*, that is, consecration and perfection …." Dionysius often deploys the term in DEH to refer to "sacrament" in the Dionysian sense of a mediating ritual that unites material forms and actions with spiritual ones, whereas Colet writes of Christ as *teletê* with a sense of ritual, redemptive sacrifice that likely carries over from his study of Paul: see ExR 3. 239–240: "Jesus, Deus homo factus, persoluto precio sanctissimae suae mortis, redemit nos et mortem nostrum"; "Illa erat mactata hostia propitialis" (cf. Rom 3. 25); CCC 5. 116. Christ as sacrifice suggests the sacrament of the eucharist: "Habet dominica hec cena manucatioque panis et calicis degustatio commemorationem annunciationemque et representationem mortis Christi, siquidem est fractio corporis et quasi effusio sanguinis. Sed fractio et effusio est, ut ea hostia vescantur electi, ut, Christus moriens in ipsos, ii reviviscant in illo; ut totum habentes in se Iesum, sint toti et penitus in Iesu, iam incorporati et concorporati cum illo, comparticipatione corporis unifici et vivifici illius qui se totum in sua dominica cena impartit nobis, ut nos totos transformet in ipsum, faciatque commembra secum, ut ipso capite, cum suis unum quasi corpus constet, totum habens Deum et totum in Deo, non solum cominicatione Deitatis in animis, sed etiam in corporibus communicatione corporis illius, ut in unum corpus coalescamus in ipso" (CCC 11. 224–226). The idea of the perfecting "tenth" owes something to the Kabbalah, which employs the idea of an extraordinary, overflowing tenth: "the Cause of causes derived the ten aspects of his Being which are known as *sefirot*, and named the crown the Source, which is a never-to-be-exhausted fountain of light, wherefrom he designates himself *eyn sof*, the Infinite" (ed. Gershom Scholem, *Zohar: The Book of Splendor: Basic Readings from the Kabbalah* [New York: Schocken, 1949], p. 53). In DEH Colet alludes to imagery from the Kabbalah mostly through the writings of Pico della Mirandola (see notes 276 and 298 below, in translation; Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness* 2. 757–760). In 1516 Erasmus reports to Reuchlin that both Bishop John Fisher

apocalyptic champion of the elect, who exceeds and embraces all hierarchies together, and as the contingent exemplum (in nature, in response to the Father's grace, and in relations to disciples) and source of inspiration for Christian individuals and society who strive to replicate his ethos for living in the world to the highest possible degree.

Colet joins Christ and perfected Christians as potential co-re-creators of the Christian psyche and co-builders of Christian society, but he undercuts this hint of providential optimism by insistence on the damaging effects of sin upon human nature. In the *Expositio* on Romans, he makes it clear that humanity has the capacity to place fiducial trust in God but of himself lacks the will to actualize that trust or to act as the result of acquiring it.[103] Given this weakness (*infirmitas* or *imbecillitas*), lapsed humanity was, unless elevated uniquely by grace like Abraham and Moses, almost completely devoid of the capacity to respond to God's theurgic grace even though God's people possessed both the Gentiles' conscience and book of creation as well as the Jews' divinely-given law by which to do so.[104] Consequently, lapsed

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and Colet consider Reuchlin virtually "sacred" due to his knowledge of the Kabbalah, though after Colet received a copy of Reuchlin's *De arte cabbalistica* in 1517, he wrote to Erasmus that "the wonders" he found in it "were more verbal than real," since the interesting mysterious words, characters, and forms in Hebrew distracted one from the "ardent love and imitation of Jesus Christ" (quoted in G. Lloyd Jones's introduction to *Johann Reuchlin*, *On the Art of the Kabbalah*, tr. Martin and Sarah Goodman (New York: Abaris, 1983), 26–27). Notably, Colet's assertion that Christ is the human *teletê* contrasts with Reuchlin's statement that just as "God wears the Crown in the kingdom of the world, so is the mind of man chief among the ten [Kabbalistic] sephiroth, and so it is rightly called 'The Crown'" (51; Latin 50). We are indebted to the publisher's reviewer for the possible link of Colet to the *Isagoge* of the learned Kabbalist Paulus Ricius (first published 1509), a work perhaps of interest to both Colet and Cornelius Agrippa, who met Colet in or near London during the following year (François Secret, *Le Zôhar chez les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance* [Paris: Mouton, 1964]), 7–9, 26–30.

[103] Colet distinguishes between scriptural uses of *fides* as belief and as fiducial trust allied to hope: "In sacris litteris aliquando fides significant credulitatem claram veritati Dei aliquando, et multo frequentissime, fidutiam et spem in potentia Dei" (ExR 4. 261). Used as *fiducia*, faith signifies a disposition and affect required for justification. See SE 4. 288.

[104] ExR, Proemium 201: "Creaturarum liber propositus apertus erat philosophis gentilium: liber eloquiorum Dei traditus erat magnatibus Judeorum. Tamen ambo, 'cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum eum glorificaverunt,' nec ut sapientes in Deo vixerunt. Negligentes impii in omne genus flagitii corruerunt, pereuntes in ipsis" (L 51: "The book of creation was set open before the philosophers of the Gentiles; the book of His written word was delivered to the leaders of the Jews. Yet both, 'when they knew God, glorified him not as God' [Rom 1:21], nor lived in Him as wise men. Neglecting Him in their wickedness, they fell into every kind of enormity, perishing in themselves"). On human *infirmitas*, see CCC 7. 188, 194.

humanity was vulnerable to its own corrupt passions and to the temptations of Satan and his minions. In a supplement to comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, Colet accounts for the lack of attention in Dionysius to positive evil, Satan, and devils, despite those writings' indirect reference to "demons" who afflict energumens. Dionysius's idea of evil varies only slightly from that of earlier Neoplatonists (especially Proclus, whose influence became the foundation of early arguments against Dionysius's authenticity) in that it presents sin as a voluntary turning from one's proper place in the hierarchy, from a point of stability to disorder, from contemplation to disorderly passion. It offered little idea of the personal and universal influence of Satan, demons, and devils common in pre- and post-Reformation Christianity, nor did it convey the Pauline sense of militant opposition in a contest of good and evil. Elaborating on Augustine's vision of the warfare of the church militant, Colet identifies imitation of Christ as the "leader and captain" of Christians—assisted by grace, angels (including personal, guardian angels), prayers, and atonement—as the Christian's means to resist and defeat the devil and his army, which is said to include "nine bands of men, under the Devil, the prince of darkness, and under his ministering satellites" and to be "distributed into nine most horrible troops" (CEH 16. 193–196).[105]

Having confirmed evil agency in the fallen world and various means by which it may be countered, Colet emphasizes the incarnation as the pivotal moment in history and as the powerful cause of an actualized potential for human deification, whose odds had been sorely diminished after the fall. Because of the God-man, humanity has been infused with a more forceful *energeia* whose power is received in the church through the words of scripture (most plainly in the New Testament), through sacraments that are (like incarnate Christ) matter infused with divine power, and through God's human ministers in the hierarchy, who if in pristine order are tied directly to Christ as their model and teacher of a Christian principle of life (*ratio vivendi*).[106] Following the essential transformation and re-creation

[105] For views of Dionysian evil as deficient or contingently existent (as a parasite) and ultimately parallel to the idea of lapsed souls in Proclus (the parallels to whom provide evidence for Dionysius's pseudonymity), see Wear and Dillon (75–84); Schäfer argues that Dionysius would have found evidence in Paul that encourages such a view of evil (573–575). See also ExR 4. 256, on Satan.

[106] On the *theanthropon* Jesus, see CCC 2.90–92 and p. 28 above. On his being an exemplar of Christian behavior, see, e.g., ER 14.216: "Ita Christus fecit, frater noster; cujas tota vita, facta

represented by baptism, the Christian advances by progressively moving away from the material substrate of a necessarily composite church and humanity towards fuller participation in a spiritual counterpart, and this advance is effected by a similar progressive realization of the spiritual dimension of the sacred composite in scripture (literal and spiritual or anagogic exegesis), sacramental rites (understood through Dionysius as having material and spiritual dimensions), and social behavior modeled on Christ's exemplary pattern.

Colet's focus upon Christ as the center of restored human nature and a perfect model of behavior is evident in one striking deviation from Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, wherein Colet alters a statement in the original that the muron or consecration of oils is the "limit," "sacrament," or, functionally, the perfecting "perfector"—a *teletê*, one of the three sacraments along with baptism and synaxis or eucharist that comprise Dionysius's topmost ecclesiastical triad. Instead, Colet declares that Christ is humanity's *teletê*, the "sanctification and perfection" whence anointing with chrism becomes a symbolic representation (*significatio*), symbolizing "Christianization," as both anointing and the process of perfecting the perfectly anointed God-man. In his spiritual reading of the "sacrament" of anointing, Colet describes it as representing the process of becoming more fully perfect that culminates on earth in *extrema unctio*, understood temporally and sacramentally as the last rites but spiritually as the bridge between human and heavenly hierarchies, the church militant and the church triumphant, allegory and anagoge. The anointing of the deceased signifies by chrism that one becomes a "christ."[107] The immanence Colet attributes to Christ in scripture and the sacraments is actualized in time by the Spirit,

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verba, nihil aliud est quam quoddam expressum exemplar, coram hominibus positum, quod imitentur, si illum, quo ille ascenderit, sequi velint. Ut enim bonus magister, veram vivendi racionem effinxit in seipso; ut, in ejus vitam spectantes, aperte legerent quonam modo sit hic vivendum hiisce qui post hanc vitam sine fine vivere velint."

[107] CEH 4.3.232; cf. DEH 4.3.485A and tr. Luibheid, 232, n. 138. Wear and Dillon link Christ as *teletê* to sacraments in that they combine "an intelligible and sensible component"; moreover, Dionysius's Christ partakes of the downward flow of the active Iamblichean soul: "Christ descends not because of human sin, but rather as a cosmic mechanism" of recreation, and material sacraments are infused with that re-creative power such that they contain "the divine as the true incarnation of Christ" (104–105). Wear and Dillon cite passages that seem to confirm Dionysius's alignment with Western Christology in describing Jesus Christ as fully divine and fully human, although they point out that evidence is ambiguous, while some passages, especially comments on the anointing in DEH 4 (PG 3. 277C–480A) and Dionysius's Letter 4 seem to convey a monophysite view (1–4, 49–50).

"the sweet breathing of God" and the "rushing mighty wind" (citing Acts 2:2) by which, as he writes in his *Expositio* on Romans, Christ "came down into the minds of his disciples": "This unutterable breathing of God and Christ, this spirit of life, is to our souls, as the air we breathe is to our bodies."[108]

The metaphoric relationship of spirit and soul to breath and body is understood to be more than simply figural but participant, with the latter pair a more material degree of the same inspiration. A similar effusion informs Colet's development in the *Enarratio* on Romans of the two-fold God-man of the incarnation into an image of faith-surpassing, flaming charity, which, with "force and power"

> when it seizes on the soul of man, influences, disposes, and forms it; so that there arises a new thing by the divine working, compounded of the soul itself, as the matter, and the embracing spirit, as the formative principle. Wherein the soul excels the body which it forms. And in fact, out of soul and spirit there arises something far more truly one, than there does out of body and soul. For the soul makes less resistance to its union with the spirit, than the body does to its connexion with the soul since the dimensions by which the body is extended, seem most adverse to unity.
>
> Accordingly, this person of the spiritual man, lovely and beautiful throughout, when begotten at length by the divine spirit, consists of three natures, body, soul and spirit; so as in its threefold constitution to resemble Christ, in whom were the godhead, soul, and body. And hence those who have put on this person, from their three-fold resemblance, may be termed Christians, and even, in a manner, *Christs*.[109]

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[108] ExR 5.273: Christians participate in the "suavissime anhelitus Dei"; "in mentes discipulorum Christi descendit vento vehemente. Hic ineffabilis halitus Dei et Christi, et vitalis spiritus, est animabus, ut spiritalis aura corporibus."

[109] ER 8. 154–155: "Haec autem mirabilis et divina lux fide pulchre lucens, amore vehementer ardens, apprehendens animam hominis, eam afficit, disponit et format; ut quiddam novum ex ipsa anima tanquam ex materia, et spiritu complectente tanquam ex forma, compositum divinitus extet. In quo multo magis spiritus ipsi animae quam format, quam anima, quod format, corpori antecellit. Atque ex anima et spiritu longe magis unum fit, quam ex corpore et anima; quod minus resistit anima ut cum spiritu coeat, quam corpus ut cum anima copuletur. Nam dimensiones quibus corpus distenditur videntur maxime unicioni adversari.

Itaque haec perbella et performosa persona hominis spiritualis, tandem divino spiritu genitus, ex tribus constat naturis, corpore et anima et spiritu; ut Christum, in quo fuit Deus, anima et corpus, trina compositura referat; et qui eam personam induerint, a trina relacione Christiani ac quodammodo quidem Christi vocitentur."

L 28, n. 2, cites Ficino's *Neoplatonic Theology* for the principle that dimensionality opposes unition (Allen and Hankins 6. 8. 171), part of the fifth proof that the body is distinct from

The restored body-soul-spirit recreates in both the individual and mystical body a re-formed "spirit," whose breath animates the whole and participates in the divine breath of the Spirit. It compels the motion by which the whole returns to simplicity and undertakes infinite action, in contrast to the plural and temporal motions of the body.[110] The Spirit, the divine agent of human nature and history, preserves the truth and power of God by actualizing the potential of words and material symbols, with the result that those most learned—that is, those with the greatest access to divine illumination through grace and the Spirit—discern spiritual truths beneath the signs of words and rites—or at least they *should* do so. Hence, as Colet emphasizes in his comments on 1Corinthians, there ought to be a profusion of the Spirit, motivated as Christ's Spirit, within and among Christians, so that it may flow throughout the ecclesiastical hierarchy, overfilling each being with intellectual comprehension and affective volition that sustain divine energy in humanity.[111] He extrapolates from Dionysius that the highest ecclesiastical ranks are therefore contingent to Christ in his overflowing composite nature just as are the Seraphim in their purely spiritual relation to the Trinity—an elevation of the ecclesiastical elite that makes all the more damning the blind materialism and ambition of wayward ecclesiastical leaders who, like Satan, willfully disrupt the flow of grace and convey to those below deformed images of truth.

c. *Order and Act in Hierarchies and Mystical Bodies*

A tendency among readers of Dionysius and those he influenced is to emphasize the cyclic order of the hierarchies, conceived as operating within a closed system that is static though in motion, like the Ptolemaic cosmos or an automobile's motor idling in neutral without engaging a drive train. Gleason illustrates this way of understanding hierarchy when he writes, "For Colet, structure was primary, and *ordo* was tied to *hierarchia*. The fact is everywhere evident, from his devotion to Dionysius's *Hierarchies* to his penchant for diagrams, with which his manuscripts abound. Everything, for Colet, had to have a fixed place" (265). But scholarship on Dionysius has

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soul. Colet's corporal triad replaces the mind as the higher part of soul with the spirit, which is distinct from the conjoined body and soul of un-reformed humanity and which is responsible for the new creation of *homines spiritales*.

[110] For Ficino, mind, not the spirit, provides simple, eternal action (Allen and Hankins, *Platonic Theology*, 8.14–15. 349–359).

[111] CCC 12. 236: "Equidem nihil est nisi Spiritus et quod ex Spiritu est in Domino nostro Iesu Christo."

increasingly emphasized that order, though obviously important to hierarchy, is insufficient for its comprehension. Conceptions of hierarchy that underplay the importance of its activity fail to understand the breadth of its meaning. In their study of Dionysius's theology, Wear and Dillon write that "Hierarchy is both an object, as the organization of the universe, a psychological rendering of the organization of the universe, and a process. The activity of the verb *hierarcheô* relates to the noun *hierarchia* as depicting its aim—the activity of the hierarchy is the act of God's creation, and the desire of that creation to return to God using hierarchy as the means of doing so."[112] Whereas the Platonists maintained a "mechanical symmetry between ranks," Dionysius's hierarchies are dynamic, filled with the transmission of energy reflected back to its origin and overflowing for the edification and transformation of the ranks below: "a member of the hierarchy mimics the activity of God by passing on the (now-diluted) divine rays," and this process of active distribution extends down to the hierarch even though he exists in a realm of composite materiality and spirituality and even though he, unlike beings suffused with Procline emanations, chooses to act: the "return of God's love for creation" is "left up to the created being."[113] Moreover, Dionysius implies some fluidity among human ranks, since those being consecrated are being changed from something else and initiates are to join the previously re-formed laity, who may in turn aspire to higher ranks. Colet strongly emphasizes this mobility, making it crucial to his idea of the reformed Christian and Christian society.

As Colet explains in one of two long digressions that distinguish between precept, counsel, and indulgence, Paul proclaimed to the Christians at Corinth that, rather than questioning how far one might go to abridge the Hebrew laws in matters such as marriage, they ought first to strive to maintain their position in the hierarchy and then strive to exceed it, allowing indulgence only as a concession to human weakness and, instead, pressing on like a competing runner: "You should, then, permit the man to stay in his rank and encourage him, and maintain him there with whatever assistance you can, lest in greater weakness still, he relapse and fall. Diligently keep him in his own place, applying the remedies required, whatever his illness, until by grace he grows stronger and can go on in the upward climb."[114] Because of the deformity to the human hierarchy caused by the fall, maintaining one's

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[112] 65–66; Rorem similarly emphasizes Dionysius's adaptations of the Neoplatonic motions of procession and return (*Pseudo-Dionysius* 51–52).

[113] Wear and Dillon 65, 71.

[114] CCC 7. 176: "Ut sinas et foveas hominem in gradu suo et in eodem quibus adiumentis

rank as an angel does is inadequate; rather, Christians must strive to repair the hierarchy by regaining as much of the perfection lost at the fall as possible, with the aim of advancing from one rank to the next and with the perfect God-man as the source of motivation and their goal, incompletely attainable as his imitation may be in this life. In Colet's hierarchy there is intense pressure for each Christian to act through love in order to advance, not merely maintain, rank—this activity uniting the flow of grace and the energized will made co-operant with the Spirit in meritorious actions. Indeed, Colet's ecclesiastical order *must* act to become more perfect due to its lapsed disorder and the pressure of historical time that is more intense than in Dionysius's relatively stable angelic and human hierarchies. At the same time, Colet maintains that every Christian is responsible to assist those below, in this way sustaining the emanative flow of active and energizing grace from the Spirit that characterizes activity in the Dionysian hierarchies.

Action in Colet's ecclesiastical hierarchy is tied to his historical reading of spiritual history (discussed above), drawn from Paul's writings to Christian communities among Jews and gentiles and, to a less marked extent, from Dionysius as well. But it receives a distinctive character also due to the influence of Ficino's ontology and epistemology and due to Colet's connecting it to and synthesizing it with the Pauline metaphor of the mystical body, in accord with late medieval and humanist medical principles based in Galenic physiology.

To describe the relation between the simple Good and varied members within the hierarchy, Ficino usually employs Neoplatonic tropes of Plotinus and Proclus, often mediated by Dionysius. As in Dionysius, Ficino figures God's unchanging unity as an effusive source of light and heat that is contemplated immediately by the highest angelic intellects and mediately by other rational minds down to the level of humanity, where light is occluded due to the imperfections of matter and the elemental world. Ficino follows Dionysius, too, in emphasizing that God's light is imparted uniformly to all levels of being and that it stimulates vivacity of soul and body in human beings, a composite of matter and soul. Filled with life and rational cognition, the soul is able, as the *Theologica platonica* suggests, to perceive divine truth by means of its own "inner vision, the common sense," which is superior to and sharper than the individual sense and should in some measure

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potes sustineas, ne infirmius relabatur et decidat a bonitatis gradu quem adeptus est. Contineas eum sollicite in loco quo est, medendo ei remediis quibus sua egritudo quequumque eget, donec evadat gratia fortior et potest in ascensu altius pergere." Discussion of precept, counsel, and indulgence occurs in CCC 7. 140–188 and ExR 4. 264.

be "more self-sufficient" in that it has no need of bodily mass and quantity.[115] Ficino examines in detail the effects upon the soul of God's "pure act" (*purus actus*), which continuously turns back on itself in unmoving contemplation as it interacts with angelic and other beings, all the latter comprising variously proportioned compounds of *actus* and *potentia* and consequently distinct from God's *purus actus*. Like all creation, the human soul combines *qualitates*, each of which possesses a "power to act" that is distinct from pure act and in substance both somewhat incorporeal yet involved in corporeal, divisible matter. The soul is therefore "contaminated with the passivity of the body" (*passione corporis inquinatus*) such that it is "moveable" (*mobilis*) and subject to external agency.[116] Prone to looking to agents among bodies in the world, the human soul is weak, although it participates in divine *actio* to the extent it turns its vision from the world to the divine form, leaves the body behind, and approximates the angels' being and action, understanding, and will.[117] To the degree that it removes itself from plurality and becomes unmoving, the soul approximates God's stable unity, surmounting the less active, more passive qualities of things and bodies moved entirely by some other agent.[118] In objecting to the Epicurean view that form may not be severed from matter, Ficino employs an anology that relies on the "vital nature of the soul," wherein food (matter) concocted is made vital again, and he deploys Galenic physiology to explain the control the soul's form exercises over the subordinate matter of body—the heat of the soul affects the body, including the phantasy (the lowest part of the soul), the vital spirits (serving the phantasy), sense, the flesh, sinews, and bone.[119] More often,

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[115] 7.3.1 (Allen and Hankins 2. 220): "si, inquam, exterior acies magnitudine ad percipiendum minime indiget, quid de illo interiori visu et communi sensu dicemus, qui quanto singulis sensibus est praestantior et acutior tanto etiam debet sufficientior esse? Erit autem sufficientior, si nulla indigeat corporis quantitate."

[116] *Theol. Plat*. 3.1.5 (Allen and Hankins 1. 215–216).

[117] *Theol. Plat*. 9.6.4: "Quis autem dubitet contemplationem nostram supernis esse persimilem, cum per eam animus, ut caelestes illi, seipsum et opera sua consideret, investiget quoque supernas causas earumque effectus, item ab effectibus inferioribus per medias causus usque ad causam supremam ascendat, atque vicissim a suprema causa usque ad infimos eventus circulo remeet? Ubi videtur universam divini operis seriem non alia virtute quam divina complecti, etamquam deus aliquis circumlustrare. Non solum vero intellegentiam cum numinibus communen habet, sed etiam voluntatem, cum illorum affectet beatitudinem. Habet praeterea similem actionem, quatenus agit libere et suo imperat corpori ferme sicut illa" (Allen and Hankins 3. 94–96).

[118] *Theol. Plat*. 3.1.9 (Allen and Hankins 1. 220–222).

[119] *Theol. Plat*. 10.4.1 (Allen and Hankins 3. 144–146). Later (16. 7–19), Ficino groups the vital power together with sense and phantasy as sub-rational forces lovingly concerned with the welfare of the body, an affection the soul both participates in and must resist as it works

Ficino bases his theory of the mediated soul and body on the Neoplatonic figure of diffused light: God's divine ray, he writes, "penetrates everything," including the individual's rational soul, where "it exists, shines, and first reflects back on itself through a sort of observing itself" that is distinct from discursive reasoning and, as contemplation, reflects the divine light during the "mind's ascent" to God.[120]

Colet preserves much of the Neoplatonic framework while reshaping its contours. For instance, he consistently tempers Ficino's confidence in the intellect to attain truth. In a marginal comment on Ficino's *De raptu pauli ad tertium caelum* in the *Epistolae*, Colet emphasizes the "impious insolence" (*superba impietas*) of those who glory in efforts to elevate themselves since human "glory rests entirely with that one King of Glory, to whom no one ascends, but is raised." Although Ficino elsewhere observes that grace is needed for rational minds to achieve divine rapture, Colet's emphasis jars against the *Theologia Platonica*'s confidence in the abilities of philosophers to free themselves from worldly distractions.[121] Characteristically, Colet links

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"to raise the body up to itself" (16.7.14: "ut ad se illud extollat"). Charles Trinkaus identifies D.P. Walker as having noted the shift in Ficino, who in the summer of 1489 replaces the term *idolum* to describe the lowest part of the soul with *spiritus* "as the link between soul and body communicating upward to the soul through the phantasy and the affects and downward onto the body in a manner similar to the *idolum*" ("Cosmos and Man: Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico on the Structure of the Universe and the Freedom of Man," *Renaissance Transformations of Late Medieval Thought* [Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999], X. 337).

[120] *Theol. Plat*. 10.5.8: "Ita divinus ille radius omnia penetrans …. In hominibus est, vivit, fulget, replicatur in seipsum, primo per quondam sui ipsius animadversionem, deinde in deum, fontem suum, reflectitur, originem suam feliciter cognoscendo" (Allen and Hankins 3. 160). See also 18.8.13–14, wherein Ficino advocates theology over philosophy as the shorter route to blessedness and cites Dionysius' *Mystical Theology* (1.1 [PG 3. 997B]) for the conclusion that "minds in the highest degree of natural cognition are joined to God as if to something unknown, like an eye blindly squinting in the radiance of the sun"; moreover, he writes that the "highest principle … alone can stop the discoursing of reason from of itself meandering endlessly and in vain" ("mentes in summo naturalis cognitionis gradu coniungi deo velut ignoto, quasi oculum sub solis lumine caligantem"; "Praeterea rationi naturalis est continua per rationes discursio, quousque ad summam perveniat rationem … ideo sola rationis discursum ex se absque fine frustra pervagaturum sistere possit" [Allen and Hankins 6.140]).

[121] Jayne 107: "Nostra gloria omnis in solo illo rege glorie est, ad quem nemo ascendit sed rapitur"; *Theol. Plat*. 13.2.4: "Magnum certe est mentis imperium, quae virtute sua a compedibus corporis solvitur" (Allen and Hankins 4.124). Ficino identifies "radiance of grace and glory" as the means to elevate the mind to "contemplative activity," which differs from "natural activity of the mind" in that is stimulated by a "higher principle" (*Theol. Plat*. 18.8.19); Colet makes no similar distinction between the kinds of intellectual activity in need of grace. Kristeller observed that for Ficino "true philosophy and true religion, in other words, Platonism and Christianity, must necessarily agree, since they both have their origin in the same source: in contemplative experience or the inner relationship with God" (320); cf.

Dionysian hierarchic emanation to the divine Spirit's activity within the mystical body. The action of the Spirit is the means to restore divine action in lapsed individuals *and* the Christian community, this latter corporate figure replacing, as it were, Plato's World Soul and Body. In contrast to Colet's frequent reference to the mystical body, the figure appears only once in the *corpus dionysiacam*.[122] When commenting on 1 Corinthians (12:3, 11–13, citing Romans [8:9, 13] and 2 Corinthians [5:16]), Colet emphasizes Paul's broadening of spiritual re-formation from individuals to the corporate church, whose spirit should enliven and govern both the individual's and community's "flesh."[123]

Colet returns in several works to the figure of the corporate Church. At times, Colet speaks of the Church's body as though it were a unified civic community, like the society restored to order by the legend of Menenius Agrippa, whose fable allegorizing the effects of a rebellion of bodily members that bring the whole to ruin was considered instrumental in restoring civil order to his own kingdom.[124] In this vein, Colet's treatise on the composition of the mystical body refers to the Church as a "human society" (*hominis societas*) and "spiritual city" (*civitas spiritalis*) that, analogous to the individual Christian, must be "reformed to Christ's form and happily reborn by God's spirit" and thereby joined to the "unity of spirit that exists in the whole and [its] parts."[125] Already, references to this Christian city's "con-*sensus*" and

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Colet's comment on 1 Cor 10:20,21: "Do not become readers of philosophers and companions of demons" (CCC 10.218: "Nolite fiere vos philosophorum lectores, socii demoniorum").

[122] Dionysius alludes to the mystical body once, at one of the few places he emphasizes Christ's incarnation: "He has beneficently accomplished for us a unifying communion with himself. He has united our humility with his own supreme divinity. But we in our turn have to cling to him like the members of one body and we do so by the conformity that comes with a divine life of sinlessness. We cannot yield to the death wrought by corrupting passion, or become unable to fit ourselves in with the members of the perfect, whole divine body, unable to be at one with them and live together with them in the one committed life" (DEH 3.3.12 [PG 3.444B], citing Eph 5:30, with echoes of Rom 12:5 and 1 Cor 12:27). Surprisingly given the figure's emphasis elsewhere, Colet omits reference to the mystical body in CEH 3.3 and opts instead to emphasize the sacrificial and redemptive effects of the sacrifice of Christ signified in the eucharist.

[123] CCC 12.230–238; cf. ER 8.152; *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 185–195.

[124] Livy, *Ab Urbe condita* 2. 16, 32, 33. Agrippa was said to have been recruited due to his eloquence to bring harmony between patricians and plebeians in 494 BCE.

[125] *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 189–190: "Quae hominis societas in Christo Jesu, et civitas spiritalis, reformata forma Christi, et regenita feliciter spiritu Dei, est in se unum quoddam per formam Jesu Christi et spiritum unum existentem in toto et partibus, et toti partibusque praesentem; qui facit consensum et concordiam partium inter se, quum unus et idem spiritus omnes simul conglutinat." Colet's spirit is similar to Ficino's soul,

"con-*cord*" rely on organic metaphors.[126] The metaphor dominating Colet's ideal society is not finally urban as in Augustine but corporate, probably due to varied influences—especially Paul's authority but also the increasing interest in anatomy and physiology at Italian universities such as Padua that attracted humanists from across Europe, including Colet's sometime friend and fellow-sojourner in Italy, Thomas Linacre, who went on to translate from Greek a number of Galenic treatises during the 1510s and 1520s.[127] Equally of concern was the need perceived by Colet and More for a "spiritual physician" who, by analogy, would treat the spiritual diseases that afflicted members of the church both generally and locally.[128] Such physicians would

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which is often described physiologically as "present in the body's individual parts, so that in its entirety it can immediately perceive without a messenger whatever happens anywhere, and in its entirety experience it and respond in harmony, issuing immediate orders to direct all the powers of the soul and all the parts of the body to the task of healing …" (*Theol. Plat.* 7.5.5), and it is placed, as in Erasmus's *Enchiridion* (Caput 7, LB 5. 19–20) above the soul, in contrast to Ficino, who set the soul over the spirit, the latter conceived physiologically as a "superlatively fine, transparent, diminutive body" generated from the heart in the "finest part of the blood" and thence transmitted throughout the body as a perceptive medium or the phantasy's "act of perception" that transmits the senses to the soul (*Theol. Plat.* 7.6.1 [Allen and Hankins 2.234]).

[126] Colet uses a similar figure of the Christian city when comparing Christ to a celestial and divine magnet whose mysterious attractive force, analogous to grace and the Spirit's *energeia* and *actio*, draws the world to him, with the result that the Church appears closest to Christ as at a mountain's summit, far "above the valley of the world" ("supra vallem mundi," CCC 12.241). Matt 5:14 and Augustine provide authority for the figure of the church as a city on a hill.

[127] The relationship between Colet and Linacre is complex and uneven, but they knew of one another and probably met while in Italy during the 1490s; they were both in London along with Erasmus on his first trip to England in 1499; and in the early 1510s, Colet rejected Linacre's Latin grammar for use by the boys at St. Paul's School. Although the relationship cooled thereafter, they retained many common friends and must have had at least occasional interaction during the years Linacre undertook his Latin translations of Galen's treatises (Francis Maddison, Margaret Pelling, and Charles Webster, eds., *Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre, c. 1460–1524* [Oxford: Clarendon P, 1977]), xlix–liii; Lupton, *A Life* 124–153. Colet's mentee at St. Paul's school, Thomas Lupset, worked with Thomas More's household member John Clement on an Aldine editorial team that produced a Greek Galen by 1526 (Vivan Nutton, "The Fortunes of Galen," *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R.J. Hankinson [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008], 355–390).

[128] Colet refers to the "spiritual physician" who, like Paul, modulates prohibition, command, indulgence, and counsel for treatment: "a spiritali medico querenda est salus cuiusque eorum qui ingress salutis viam contendunt totis conatibus ut in Christo salvi fiant, qui est ipsa salus et hominis sanitas. Que consistit in absoluto et puro statu a malo tum animi tum corporis, ut neutra pars aliquousque deorsum ex appet[it]ione inferiorum descendat, sed utraque simul ex vehementi desiderio superiorum tota sursum conspiret; ut sicut in epistola est ad Romanos [6:19], Quemadmodum exhibuistis membra vestra servire immundicie et iniquitati ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire iusticie in sanctificationem" (CCC 7.178). See also the Convocation Sermon, Lupton, *A Life* 299. More had

apply organic and affective remedies as supplements to reason and logic and seek the mutual interaction and reciprocation among the body's diverse members.

Colet's treatise on the mystical body, *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici*, emphasizes a corporate model of the church that appeared in abbreviated form in the *Enarratio* on Romans—a physiological model that emphasizes the action of the divine Spirit upon the body. Although Colet employs language similar to Ficino's to describe the profusion of the divine intellect and will to the rational soul, he invokes medical discourse to explain the transmission of affective energies within the Christian community. The simple, unified, constant divine Spirit is said to be "poured" "radiantly" into "all members of the church who are in Christ," with the result that the "influx" of the Spirit causes each member to be "re-born in spiritual being" according to Christ's incarnate form.[129] Due to the "act of God's essence" that *is* the Spirit, a "spiritual operation" (*spiritalis operatio*) takes place "by virtue of its essence within each spiritual man," such that the Spirit binds members together in "spiritual life and sense, motion and spiritual action," "sweetly and persuasively" giving each member being as it "fills and penetrates the whole in every part with life" (189–190) and action.[130] Those it draws from the world's flux in turn "act" spiritually (192) for the community through their shared "common sense," which is also the divine Spirit, whose existence and action are, paradoxically, both universal and particular. Due to the Spirit's suffusion of the mystical body, all in the body suffer the "passion" or spiritual pain of any imperfect individual—that is, one's remaining in a state of passive potentiality contrary to actualization as a spiritual man. In this merger of hierarchy and mystical body, Colet demonstrates how thoroughly he has absorbed the Dionysian method of

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described Colet as a spiritual physician in his earliest extant letter to Colet, dated 1504, inviting Colet to leave a pastoral retreat in order to minister to the diseased city of London (*Selected Letters*, ed. Elizabeth Frances Rogers [New Haven: Yale UP, 1961], 4–5). Colet's emphasis on the physiological properties of the mystical body coincided with revived interest in medical theories, beginning with critiques such as that of Niccolò Leoniceno (1428–1524), who advocated new translations to replace medieval authorities such as Pliny and correct corrupt versions of Galen.

[129] *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 188–189: "Dum autem adest spiritus Dei ecclesiae, infundit se mirifice ubique, et se porrigit radiatim per omnia ecclesiae membra quae sunt in Christo .... Quod si ecclesiae adsit spiritus Dei, tunc ab ejus essencia, quae est una cum Patre et Filio, fluit esse spiritale in omnia ecclesiae membra; quo influxu primum in esse spiritale regignuntur." ER 12.184–189.

[130] See the converse in CEH 5.3.245: "quicquid (inquam) agitur vel in constructione vel ordinatione vel completione ecclesiae, si id divine spiritus instinctu non fiat, nihil est."

drawing spiritual significance from material things such as the body and how completely he has synthesized Dionysius's and Paul's parallel interests in describing sacred structures that preserve distinctions among parts in a social order while admitting possibilities for spiritual action, growth, decline, interaction, and development in time.

Colet's overlay of the Spirit's *actio* and *esse* upon Christ's *esse* and *actio* applies to the individual and the mystical body the united Neoplatonic principles of order and activity that are crucial to the structure and operation of Dionysius's hierarchies, and the resulting figure of an ordered body invites physiological refinements such as "vital spirits." Following Ficino, Colet sometimes represents light and heat as the "life of the body."[131] In his *Enarratio* on Romans, Colet writes:

> [L]ife is conveyed into the [physical] body from the soul, by certain well-adapted means, that unite the two extremes together; consisting of the higher and more refined elements of the body, and the lower and, so to speak, more concrete ones of the soul. These are called by physicians vital spirits, and are particles of lucid nature blended together from the clearer part of the body, and from the lower and obscurer part (as it may be called) of the soul.[132]

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[131] Reginald Hyatte shows that Ficino uses "medical notions" to describe human interactions, but Ficino rarely invokes them to explain order and action in the Christian community; instead, as in *De Amore* Ficino tends to introduce medical concepts to explain non-figurative interactions of individuals, such as the conjunction "of the visual spirits and literary conventions of amatory contagion through them" that have a "meliorative" effect in lovers "as, stretching from purifying heart to heart, they impress and reimpress images of ever greater, higher beauty in both viewers' body and soul, which thereby become even more beautiful" ("The 'Visual Spirits' and Body-Soul Mediation: Socratic Love in Marsilio Ficino's *De Amore*," *Rinascimento* 33ns [1993], 220–221). David George Hale explores the social, political, and religious use of the figure of the body and distinctions among varied writers in the English Renaissance and outlines a trajectory that extends from Thomas Lupset, Colet's student who later helped edit the Aldine edition of the Greek text of Galen (1525) to Thomas Starkey, whose *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* Hale calls "the most formally 'medical' of all the works" that "use the metaphor of the body politic" (*The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* [The Hague: Mouton, 1971], 15–16, 61–68): in light of his medical use of the figure, Colet should be added to this arc.

[132] ER 12.185–186: "Quae vita in corpus ab anima est invecta, per quedam congrua media, quae utrumque extremem in se unum [uniunt?], quaeque constant ex superiori et sinceriori corpore, et ex anima humiliore et (ut ita dicam) concretiori. Quos vitales spiritus medici appellant, quae sunt luculenta corpuscula ex sereniore corporis parte et animae dimissiore ac quodammodo obscuriori composita." Galen followed Hippocrates and Plato in relating the three parts of the soul to the brain (the rational part), the heart (the spirited part, the location of the vital spirit in Ficino and vital spirits controlling the passions in most medical writings), and the liver, the source of desire and the principle of nutrition (Pierluigi Donini, "Psychology," *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R.J. Hankinson [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008], 187–193). Colet associates the head and brain with Christ and the affective force

For Colet the physical body's *vital* spirits are mirrored by the mystical body's "*ministering* spirits," described as "nimble and active couriers" that enliven the body's dead matter. Among men as among angels there is a "long gradation" of ministering spirits, ranging downward from those that receive life and heat in the lowest intellectual faculties—the phantasy (*phantasma*) and common sense (*communem sensum*)—to those that activate the senses and motion in hands and feet.[133] Colet links the varied actions of the ministering spirits to the offices of the nine "spiritual gifts" Paul specifies in 1 Corinthians and Romans 12:6: apostles, prophets, teachers, healers, powers, assistants, governors, speakers of tongues, and interpreters.[134] Despite this diversity of actions, Colet emphasizes the overarching unity of the mystical body: "if the whole Church and all its parts have life from God and Christ through loving faith; and if this faith be as it were the life of the body, that is, the Church; then assuredly it must needs be, that the Church will live and be in health so long a time as it is held together in one faith by its soul, that is, by God."[135] Communal health is due to life-giving properties derived from actions of the divine Spirit—order, propagation,[136] connection, mutual obligations, and temperance. "[U]nsoundness and disease" derive from the lack of faith and result in schism and heresy; they are a "member's deviation from the life and form bestowed upon it by the soul," and they threaten the death of the whole through contagion unless balanced by healthy "vital spirits."[137]

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with the Spirit, the two interacting as heat and light in the mystical body to produce myriad vital spirits: see ER 12.189.

133 ER 12.76–77, 188.

134 ER.12. 193–194; CCC 12.230–238. *Theol. Plat.* 9.5.23 accounts for the diversity of abilities among humans as a result of spirits' governing of cleverness, intelligence and will, though Ficino theorizes that "difference in learning skills" is more a matter of will than intellect (Allen and Hankins 3. 82).

135 ER 12. 191: "Quod si tota ecclesia et omnes ejus partes amanti fide vivit Deo et Christo, sique haec fides est quasi vita corporis et ecclesiae, tum profecto est necesse tam diu vivat et valeat ecclesia, quam diu ab anima, id est, a Deo, in una fide contineatur." The threat of disease to the healthy body is an occasion for admonition, set against the health of the mystical body, as evident also in the Convocation Sermon: "The clergie and spirituals part ones reformed in the churche, then may we with a iuste order procede to the reformation of the lays part; the whiche truly wyll be verye easy to do, if we fyrst be reformed. For the bodye foloweth the soule; and such rulers as are in the cite, like dwellers be in hit" (Lupton, *A Life* 302).

136 Lupton (81) translates "copulacione" as "adjustment" (ER 12.190).

137 ER 12.191–193. See also ER 12.187: "Ignis ipse, ipsa anima hominum in Christo capite, id est, divinitas, illustravit incenditeque apostolos." Colet here deviates from Galenic physiology by associating "vital" spirits with the head and brain, which, as he details in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, should be associated with the heart and lungs.

In commenting on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and I Corinthians, Colet emphasizes the reciprocity, integrity, and mutuality of members of the mystical body, despite their diversity in form and function, with the lower members of the hierarchy or mystical body offering compensation for the spiritual benefits from above. In Neoplatonic hierarchy, being exists and is valued to the extent it converts fully the divine ray with love to its source and overflows to shed it on those below. In Colet's ecclesiastical hierarchy, ministering spirits, once re-formed, ought to act on behalf of others in order to co-operate with the Spirit to achieve the health and increase of the whole structure. To describe the interaction that occurs within the hierarchy, Colet employs the medical language that also stands behind Ficino's philosophy—a distinction among three physiological "spirits"—also called "operations or actions" as exemplified in the 1586 edition of Thomas Gale's translation of Giovanni da Vigo's popular work, *The Office of a Chirurgion*.[138]

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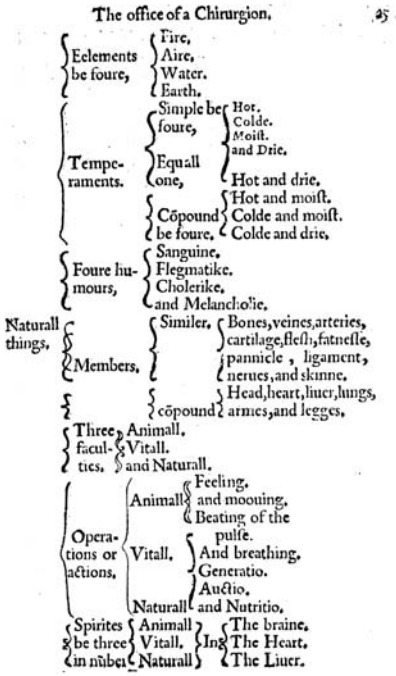
[138] Included in *Certaine Workes of Galens, called Methodvs Medendi, with a briefe Declaraion of the worthie Art of Medicine, the Office of a Chirurgion, and an Epitome of the third booke of Galen, of Naturall Faculties* (London: Thomas East, 1586), D1[r]:


The office of a Chirurgion. 25
Eelements be foure, Fire, Aire, Water, Earth.
Temperaments. Simple be foure, Hot, Colde, Moist, and Drie.
Equall one, Hot and drie.
Cõpound be foure, Hot and moist. Colde and moist. Colde and drie.
Foure humours, Sanguine, Flegmatike, Cholerike, and Melancholie.
Naturall things, Members, Similer, Bones, veines, arteries, cartilage, flesh, fatnesse, pannicle, ligament, nerues, and skinne.
cõpound Head, heart, liuer, lungs, armes, and legges.
Three faculties, Animall, Vitall, and Naturall.
Operations or actions, Animall Feeling, and mouing, Beating of the pulse.
Vitall, And breathing, Generatio.
Naturall Auctio, and Nutritio.
Spirites be three in nũber, Animall, Vitall, Naturall. In The braine, The Heart, The Liuer.

Colet distinguishes among types of spirits as a way to differentiate ecclesiastical ranks, but doing so with reference to a healthy body leads to his assertion of a mutual interaction among ranks that contravenes the cyclic flow of Neoplatonic hierarchy. Having named in chapter 5 of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* three orders of ministers derived from Dionysius's higher rank of spiritual men (named by Colet, following Traversarius, *pontifices*, *sacerdotes*, and *diaconos*), in Chapter 6 Colet turns to the next ecclesiastical triad, comprised of monks, the laity, and some undergoing initiation, and he does so by deploying familiar Dionysian language: the Church's lower, more passive portion receives purification and elevation so it may achieve a "spiritual state" from spiritual men, the "ones who operate and cause everything" (*operatores et effectores omnium*).[139] Spiritual men are analogous to the "purer, more refined, and more vital blood," the arterial blood that pulses from the heart to every member with the heat and life of vital spirits. Colet extends the medical analogy by referring to the three kinds of spirits—natural, vital, and animal. Of these, Colet writes that the animal spirits "serve the soul, the highest part; the vital [spirits] the senses; the natural [spirits] procreation, nutrition, growth, cleansing, restoring, healing, and actions of this sort in the more corporeal part of man," and they correspond to Platonic and Galenic partitioning of the soul in the brain, heart, and liver.[140] In moving from the fleshly to the mystical body, Colet likens the "animal spirits" to those who serve God, "the soul of the Church." These are spiritual leaders (*pontifices*) who act like the brain and nerves, with faith and love, to provide guidance to those striving to contemplate "the simple principles of mysteries and sensible things" found in scripture, sacraments, and other rites. In turn, the Church's vital spirits or priests, centered in the mystical body's heart, "enact the spiritual senses" by providing to those who are filled with hope and faith a perfect perception of "the sacraments of the church and each more sacred sign." The "natural spirits" or deacons act in the spiritual body's liver, as it were, to "give life to the flesh by means of a purgative

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[139] CEH 6.1.

[140] CEH 6.1: "hi summe anime inserviunt, vitales sensibus, naturales generationi, nutricioni, auctioni, expurgationi, refectioni, sanationi, et eiusdem operis in parte corpulentiori hominis." Michael Servetus in his 1553 *Christianismi Restitutio* credited the idea of the three spirits to Alexander Aphrodisaeus (fl. 2nd century) but more likely they derive from Aristotle and Avicenna (*Christianismi Restitutio and Other Writings*, tr. Charles Donald O'Malley [Np: Classics of Medicine Library, 1989] 201–208, edited and digitized by Randall D. Hughes, 2001, Web, 3/16/2011). See Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990), 207–209, with Avicenna's "virtues" for "spirits."

virtue, cleansing away their fetid death, in order that they may live in God's hope."[141] Drawing upon medical theories that gave value to the contributions of lower organs while granting higher status to the brain and nerves, Colet recuperates the value of still lower segments of the mystical body, the "ministers in temporal things" who reciprocate with things derived "from the earth" the gifts of spiritual men: "keeping themselves holily busy on one side and the other, the servants and ministers in the wealth of God, to uphold [the part] in each mode of life, the temporal and the spiritual; with the higher part living temporally in the lower, and the lower living and thriving spiritually in the higher, so that the entire church in this world, with only the necessaries sought after, and those even lightly and for the time being, may strive onwards in this place toward the spiritual life, which is life eternal."[142]

In commenting on 1 Corinthians 12, Colet recasts the discourse of mutual ministry into one of reciprocal beauty and utility. Emphasizing both the Church's distinctions of rank and its unity, he refers to the mystical body's "beautiful usefulness and useful beauty" (*pulchra utilitas et utilis pulchritudo*).[143] Within the spiritually enlivened mystical body, there is, he writes, "a wonderful compensating balance; so that while all the members, all mankind in the Church, are truly spiritual, beautiful and useful, because of the infusion of the Spirit, as beauty degenerates and lessens to the more unlovely, this compensation [of usefulness] springs up and increases" so that

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[141] CEH 6.1: "Primi hi et viciniores carnali parti ecclesie vivificant carnem purgatoria virtute; fedam eorum mortem abluentes, ut in spe dei vivant. Secundi, qui sensus spiritales faciunt, purgatos sperantesque in deo illuminant, ut sacramenta ecclesie et omne sacratius signum perfecte sentiant credentes, et eo summa fide delectentur. Tercii illi quidem et summi, qui in deum toto desiderio intenti sunt, qui simplicem cuiusque sensus racionem perspicue intelligent. Eos, qui senserunt signa et fide sacramenta, qui idonei ex eis et maturi ad se accedunt, mysteriorum et sensibilium rerum simplices raciones quatenus capaces sunt, speculatores faciunt; ut, quod fide senserint iam dudum sub sacerdotibus, iam tandem sub pontifice cum summo amore intelligant ac pro capacitate impleti mysteriis perficiantur."

[142] CEH 6.1: "Humilior et terrestrior ecclesie pars ministra est temporalium, dei opera et racione simplici; celestis vero illa et sublimior elargitur spiritalia ministra magne benignitatis dei. Hi sunt ministri corpulentiori et crassiori ecclesie parti in vitam sempiternam spiritale eis pabulum largiter prebentes; humilior vero pars, que spe ex deo pendet et sedulo ex terra trahit quo pascatur ecclesia—hec pars spiritaliori illi sumministrat vitam temporalem. Ita mutuis officiis et beneficiis ecclesia, dum hic militat, dumque est partim temporalis partim et maxime spiritalis, utrinque et ex superiori et ex inferiori loco, in divitiis dei, et temporalibus et spiritalibus dei servis et ministris, se sancte exercentibus, in utraque vita sustinere et temporali et spiritali; superiori parte inferiori viventi temporaliter, et inferiori ex superiorri viventi et valenti spiritaliter, ut tota ecclesia in hoc mundo necessariis dumtaxat, et ea quoque leviter in diem, conquisitis, in spiritalem hic contendat vitam, in vitam eternam."

[143] CCC 12. 252.

"there may be an equal respect of all for all, and a recognition of equality" that gives rise to "agreement, mutual love, shared joy and shared sorrow, and, in a word, a common echoing of all states of mind and body." Due to this equal respect, Colet concludes, the mystical body should have "agreement, mutual love, shared joy and shared sorrow, and, in a word, a common echoing of all states of mind and body (*omnium affectuum*)."[144] So powerful is this ideal of mutual love, expressed upward and downward in the hierarchy or perfused throughout the mystical body, that Colet believes the teacher of those who pursue the contemplative life should give only secondary importance to the light of the intellect: "For light is thin and slight if it is not condensed by heat, as it were; and the contemplation of things that may be perceived is nearly empty and void if [those viewing] are not filled by love of the intellected mysteries. The vision, love, and worship of the mysteries fill and perfect everything."[145]

Colet founds his vision of spirituality in the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the figure of heat and life of the mystical body, whose spiritual physicians, divine

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[144] CCC 12. 252, 254: "Sed in fusion Spiritus in corporis vivificationem, ut est progressus degenerans quodammodo (ut ita dicam) in deterius, ita in ipso progressu simul mirabilis et repensatio; ut quum omnia membra et homines in ecclesia veri spiritales sunt, pulchri et utiles infusione Spiritus, ut pulchritudo degenerat et diminuitur in deformius, ita simul gradatim exoritur et crescit, atque quanto longius procedis ad deformia membra, in ipsis magis atque magis exaugetur utilitas; ut sicut superiores et prestantiores partes possunt iactare speciem et pulchritudinem, ita contra inferiores ostentare utilitatem; ut sicut ille pulchriores superant specie et formositate, ita he deformiores excellunt et utilitate.

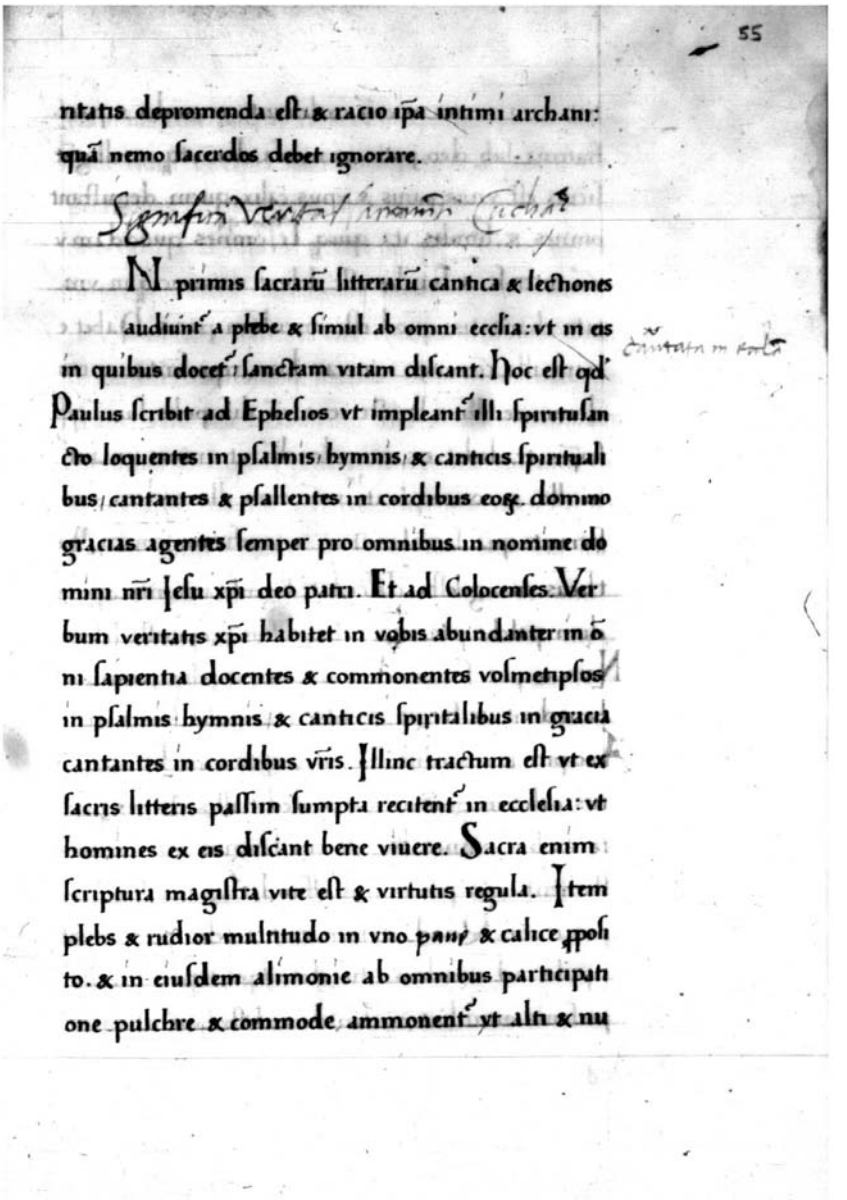
Ita in dissimilitudine est similitudo, et in degeneratione recompensatio, et in vi fusa a Spiritu in ecclesia (si libres omnia) equabilitas quedam et equa lanx, in nullam partem magis depressa; ut equus sit respectus omnium in omnes, et agnitio equabilitatis, et ex equabilitate consensus, coamor, et congaudium et condolentia, et denique omnium affectuum mutua coresonantia."

[145] CEH 6.1: "Lux enim res rara et tenuis est si non quasi condensetur calore; et spectacio sensibilium rerum pene inanis est et vacua, si amore intellectorum mysteriorum non impleantur. Mysteriorum visio amor et cultus complet et perficit omnia." This preference for the warmth of love in place of the cool light of intellect is potentially at odds with Neoplatonism and the Dionysian hierarchies though not necessarily so: warmth is an attribute of the Seraphim (DCH 7. 1 [PG 3. 205B–D]), Christ (DEH 2.2.1 [PG 3. 393A]), and the one who takes charge of the initiate for baptism (DEH 2.2.2 [PG 3. 393B]), though it is not associated with the hierarch, who typically is described as a source of illumination and enlightenment and who journeys toward divine unity "with a clear eye that looks upon the basic unity of those realities underlying the sacred rites. He makes the divine return to the primary things the goal of his procession toward secondary things, which he had undertaken out of love for humanity" (DEH 3.3.3 [PG 3. 429A–B]). Colet's interest in the preeminence of love and will over intellect, revealed in his correspondence with the less clear-cut Ficino in 1499 (Jayne 81–83), extends to his descriptions of the *pontifex* or hierarch, who is in the topmost rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

and human, co-operatively maintain its members in unity with one another and with God—or so they should, if they live up to the duties assigned to them. If they do not do so, they are worthy of admonition and correction, in the spirit of Dionysius's rebukes to the monk Demophilus, who, one recalls, overstepped his bounds by usurping the claim of illuminating teacher that belongs to the rank of priests.[146] Sympathetic to ideas of spiritual action in Neoplatonism, Colet nevertheless deviates in significant ways from the models advanced by Dionysius and Ficino, although both nevertheless remained important sources of his theology of individual and communal re-form. Specifically, Colet differs from Ficino in his emphasis on the redemptive role of Christ, in the divine Spirit's and ministers' roles as agents of health and healing, and in the sense of mutuality and contagious affection that should bind the members to one another as well as God. Similarly, Colet departs from Dionysius in significant ways, particularly in his efforts to effect a *rapprochement* between hierarchic principles of order and action and the Christocentric theology of the individual and community in Paul's epistles and the gospels.

Colet's efforts to unite those who retain differences under the "common sense" of the Spirit brings together philosophical, theological, and medical approaches that allow him to proclaim the ideal ontology, etiology, epistemology, morality, and ethic that he contrasts to and uses as the measure of the church, particularly that in England, at the opening of the sixteenth century.

[146] Letter 8.2–3 (PG 3. 1092B–1093B).


55

ntatis depromenda est & ratio ipa intimi archani:
quā nemo sacerdos debet ignorare.

Significa veritatis sacrae Eucharistiae

N primis sacrarū litterarū cantica & lectiones
audiunt a plebe & simul ab omni eccla: vt in eis
in quibus docet sanctam vitam discant. Hoc est qd
Paulus scribit ad Ephesios vt impleant illi spiritusan
cto loquentes in psalmis hymnis & canticis spirituali
bus cantantes & psallentes in cordibus eorū domino
gracias agentes semper pro omnibus in nomine do
mini nri Jesu xpi deo patri. Et ad Colocenses. Ver
bum veritatis xpi habitet in vobis abundanter in o
ni sapientia docentes & commonentes vosmetipsos
in psalmis hymnis & canticis spiritalibus in gracia
cantantes in cordibus vris. Illinc tractum est vt ex
sacris litteris passim sumpta recitent in ecclesia: vt
homines ex eis discant bene viuere. Sacra enim
scriptura magistra vite est & virtutis regula. Item
plebs & rudior multitudo in vno pane & calice ppo
sito. & in eiusdem alimonie ab omnibus participati
one pulchre & commode ammonent vt alii & nu

Facsimile of British Library MS add. 63853, hıı^{r}, Chapter 3.3, showing Pieter Meghen's humanist script, a blank initial at the head of the section, a section title ("Significa veritas sacrae Eucharistiae") added by the anonymous "red correcting hand," and, three lines from the bottom, "pane" added as an in-line correction in a hand that is probably Colet's. See pp. 186–187 below.

THE DEMARCATIONS OF "BLOTTERATURE" AND "LITERATURE" IN JOHN COLET'S LATIN PROSE

Daniel J. Nodes

The present-day description of the classics curriculum in St. Paul's School, London notes that the school's sixteenth-century founder, Dean Colet, "envisaged a school to teach the classical languages to children of 'all nations and countries,' and that today's St Paul's maintains a vigorous provision of these subjects."[1] The catalog expresses its dedication to imparting not only "good linguistic awareness in its pupils but also a flavour of life in the Roman Empire and in 5th century Athens." St. Paul's course descriptions name Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, Thucydides, and Aristophanes for Greek, and Ovid, Tacitus, Cicero, and Vergil for Latin, as the ancient authors assembled to help the students achieve those educational aims. This commitment to providing a classical linguistic and literary education reflects Dean Colet's explicit intention. He ordered that both Greek and Latin were to be taught in his school. Specific Greek authors are not mentioned in St. Paul's original statutes, perhaps because of Colet's limited knowledge of Greek. More probably the absence of detail about Greek was influenced by the still latent suspicion of the Greeks for heresy. But then it is worth noting that the founder of St. Paul's made a point not only to mention Greek at all but to insist on its universal study. St. Paul's was to become the first school in England to teach Greek.

Colet, however, wrote and did much about the study of Latin. His St. Paul's curriculum still included Latin for utilitarian purposes but especially its role in inculcating Christian piety. Christian authors were featured in his curriculum. That in itself was not new. The influence of Christian Latin literature on Latin educational practices was standard in the medieval schools before Colet. Alexander of Villa-Dei's eleventh-century *Doctrinale*, for example, considered the most popular grammar text of the High Middle Ages, avoided classical pagan authors entirely and provided examples instead from medieval Christian poets. A section on quantities of syllables even included examples of medieval verses containing quantitative mistakes

[1] http://www.stpaulsschool.org.uk/academic/classics.

according to classical rules. Medieval grammar texts also maintained a close connection between the study of Latin grammar and the inculcation of Christian piety, and while grammar and rhetoric were even in classical times taught partly because they were seen as essential civilizing forces imparting far more than theoretical knowledge, education in the early Christian centuries has been seen to make a stronger connection between "learning to live aright" and learning Latin, which was increasingly a second language but, also increasingly because of the loss of Greek, the exclusive language of the entire Western literate society and the Christian scriptures. Latin education in the incipient St. Paul's Cathedral School under Colet was still aiming for that basic ideal, and Latin was even put behind the study of basic Christian dogma and prayers:

> my entent is by thys scole specially to increse knowlege and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff … And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne first aboue all the Cathechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made.

To ensure that the students were thus prepared, Colet's own grammar text, the *Aeditio* or *Accidence* (1509), included prayers and other devotional texts first, evidence of Colet's aims to teach Latin within a matrix of instruction in Christian ethics and prayer.

Colet, however, made a now famous impassioned statement about the teaching of Latin. His school was to teach not merely Latin but "the true laten spech," rejecting

> all barbary, all corrupcion, all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poysenyd the olde laten spech and the varay Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgil and Terence was vsid which also seint Jerome and seint Ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors learnyd in theyr times, I say that fylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratyr may be called blotterature thenne literature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole.[2]

Although classical authors almost certainly were taught at St. Paul's even during Colet's lifetime, in the Statutes only six Latin authors are explicitly prescribed for study: Lactantius, Proba, Prudentius, Sedulius, Juvencus, and Baptista Mantuanus, and none of them belongs to the period of classical Latin; the first five are from the patristic period and the last is a Carmelite

[2] Dean Colet's statutes in Michael F.J. McDonnell, *A History of St Paul's School* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1909), 43–45.

friar from the 15th century.[3] To the more utilitarian Latin training in grammar school that Colet himself had first encountered as a student, which focused on the teaching of a functional means of communication and the basic prayers and doctrines of the church, this curriculum adds the dimension of style in the classical and early Christian tradition. The common denominator is that the authors featured in Colet's list all wrote elegant literature on biblical and Christian themes in a competent Latin with classical form to each piece. These authors were poets as well as writers of prose. That may be said even about Lactantius because he was believed to be the author of *De Ave Phoenice*, an allegorical poem about the resurrection. Otherwise Lactantius is the eloquent prose-writing apologist of Christian culture, antagonist to the Hellenic world, and the foremost Christian rhetorician of his time in the classical style. They may never have actually been studied at St. Paul's, but in Colet's mind they were the choicest of authors for the school's first generations of students, sharing antiquity and correct and elegant style with the classical authors and imparting edifying Christian content. By their singular naming in the Statutes, Colet obviously considered them, like their pagan counterparts, free of tendencies that produced "blotterature," which … "poysenyd the olde latin spech." While moral formation is surely a goal of all Christian education—patristic, monastic, scholastic, humanist, or otherwise—and while all students in all those environments needed to learn 'grammar,' Colet's pedagogical program thus gave grammar a role more akin with monastic than either with ancient Roman literary education with its emphasis on the forum and the law courts, or with a scholastic culture with its emphasis on the university and dialectical reasoning.

What can be said about Colet's own Latin? This is said: his own Latin style reflects his educational vision. Scholars have rightly observed, for example, that his own Latin was not purely Ciceronian. John Gleason pointed to Colet the graduate student's struggle to compose humanist prose. In Gleason's apt description, Colet's attempt at high style was 'singularly tormented.'[4] His Latin vocabulary also included many non-classical words, like the rare word *vicissitudinarius* as used in a special sense of the relationship between God and man, which Gleason used to identify a manuscript as written by Colet. In his commentary on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* alone Colet includes several basic compound words he appears to have coined or borrowed, a

[3] As observed in McDonnell, p. 44.

[4] John B. Gleason, *John Colet* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1989), 49.

characteristic of Christian Latin and occurring in all centuries, such as *counitio*, *coosculantur*, *adolitio*, *significatorie*, *deificatiores*, *significamina*, *deiungendum*, *deunguitur*, and *resapiciens*.[5] They are not obfuscations but practical forms to serve the immediate purpose. Bernard O'Kelly, in the introduction to Colet's commentary on First Corinthians, another large treatise, has compared Colet's Latin to that of Pico della Mirandola, the former student of canon law who was later persecuted for his viewpoints, rather than the more precise and self-aware Latin of Erasmus, calling it "thought clothed to travel, not to impress or to delight," considering it more like speech, with a tone of direct address, efficient, but not without grammatical irregularities, firm, precise, strong.[6] Confronted with all those epithets, however, readers ask "of what specifically does Colet's Latin style consist?" In his distinction between blotterature and literature, Colet placed a premium on the Latin style of early Christian writers because of the combined advantage of Christian content expressed in a humane idiom, qualities which neither the pre-Christian writers nor, as Colet saw it, many medieval Christian writers had in the same combination. For when Colet writes of the abuses which the later blind world brought in, he is referring, to a degree about which scholars will continue to debate, to medieval scholastic theological texts he had read.

Evidence for Colet's disdain for the Latin of Scholasticism is inferential in some cases but specific in others. According to Erasmus, Colet in Italy studied the Latin patristic authors Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Origen and Dionysius in Latin translation. Erasmus also says Colet read John Chrysostom, but we do not know which Latin translation. He also read Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, but Erasmus observed that Colet read them both "with distaste for their defining habit, which had led men away from the true message of the scriptures."[7] As with many a modern student of early Christian Latin texts, a preference often develops either for the Church Fathers or the Schoolmen, and for Colet, in the encounter with Christian literature whose content ranged from practical piety to mysticism and whose form of writing was different from both the Scriptures and the

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[5] See Albert Blaise, *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*, tr. Grant C. Roti (Turnout: Brepols: Georgetown UP, 1994), esp. 30–33.

[6] See "Colet's Latin Style" in O'Kelly and Jarrott, eds., *John Colet Commentary on First Corinthians* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), 25.

[7] J.B. Trapp citing Erasmus, Letter to Justus Jonas, in "John Colet, His Manuscripts, and the Ps. Dionysius," 214 and n. 2.

scholastic dialectic that were central to every Western cleric's education, the early Christian poets and the Fathers won the day. Thus, Colet shared the general criticism of scholastic Latin, typical of many in his age. A tendency among humanists was to imagine themselves as Hercules slaying the Hydra as symbolic of their opposition to the complex multi-headed theology of the scholastics, "more humbly and accurately dependent on the divine text, directed less on the presumptuous and inevitably disputatious goal of trying to know God in his fullness."[8] But it is too facile to conclude that Colet was an ardent humanist, since Erasmus also reports that Colet read classical authors and screened out what was un-Christian.[9] It is more accurate to say that Colet had humanist leanings toward a Christian literature that cultivated classical form to express not abstract arguments but persuasive exhortations.

In light of those observations, a description of the material elements of Colet's writing style can be made in relation to the distinction he made between *blotterature* and *literature* and in the light of his exegetical and epistemological practices. Interest is in the style of the mature Colet, past his student days, as reflected in longest and best developed works: the commentary on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians and the commentaries on the *Celestial Hierarchy* and *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius, the latter presented in this book.

To a far greater degree than the coinages, Colet's vocabulary is, as to be expected, fraught with Latin words closely reflecting liturgical and biblical sources. He dramatizes, for example, the language of rituals such as the baptismal rite of renunciation:

> Quando audit illum quem ego alumnum, Dionysius vero modo susceptorem modo divinum patrem appellat, ab aliis patrinus, compater ab aliis vocatur, pontifex, inquam, quando audit illum dicentem Abrenuntio, quod est quidem, ut exponit Dionysius, efficiam ipse ut infans omne ei oblatum ex inferiori loco, et diabolo abrenunciet repudietque, nihilque velit nisi quod ei superne ex celo ab ipso deo delatum fuerit.
>
> When [the pontifex] hears him whom I call the "ward" but Dionysius sometimes "guardian," and at other times the "divine father," and "godfather" by some others and "joint father," the pontifex, I say, when he hears "I renounce!"—which is really, as Dionysius explains, "I myself will make

[8] Eugene F. Rice, "The Humanist Idea of Christian Antiquity and the Impact of Greek Patristic Work on Sixteenth-century Thought," *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 1500–1700*, ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), 202.

[9] As reported in Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 23.

> it happen that the infant renounces and rejects entirely what is brought up to him from a lower place and the devil." CEH 7.4

Abrenuntio is presented against Colet's own paraphrase of what that verb means. It is said during the baptismal rite, and it emphasizes the bond and responsibility of sponsor for the baptized.

Baptism is a topic that prompts Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa* to refer to Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* repeatedly within a series of articles addressing many detailed principles and qualifications. When he comes to the sponsor's role in Baptism, Thomas expresses himself more reservedly than Colet was to do:

> Respondeo dicendum quod unusquisque obligatur ad exequendum officium quod accipit. Dictum est autem quod ille qui suscipit aliquem de sacro fonte, assumit sibi officium paedagogi. Et ideo obligatur ad habendam curam de ipso, si necessitas immineret, sicut eo tempore et loco in quo baptizati inter infideles nutriuntur. Sed ubi nutriuntur inter Catholicos Christianos, satis possunt ab hac cura excusari, praesumendo quod a suis parentibus diligenter instruantur. Si tamen quocumque modo sentirent contrarium, tenerentur secundum suum modum saluti spiritualium filiorum curam impendere.[10]

> I answer that, Every man is bound to fulfill those duties that he accepts. It has already been said that he who receives anyone from baptism [as a godparent], he takes on for himself the duties of a tutor. And therefore there is an obligation to take care of that person should the necessity arise: as when and where children are being raised among unbelievers. But if they are brought up among Catholic Christians, the godparents can be excused from this care, by taking as given that the children will be carefully instructed by their parents. If, however, they perceive in any way that the contrary is the case, they would be bound, as far as they are able, to see to the spiritual welfare of their godchildren.[11]

Colet's description of the confection of the Eucharist is in no way technical or analytical; it is liturgical, as when he writes of Christ as the Paschal Meal, using the prepositional phrases that reflect the liturgical formula:

> Habet eciam illa communio venerandam representacionem dominice illius sancte cene cum discipulis suis, in qua seipsum tradidit eis comedendum, ut omnes uniantur in illo et concorporati in unum cum illo eodem conficiant.

> That communion also offers a worshipful representation of his lordly holy supper with his disciples, in which he permitted himself to be consumed so that all may be united in him and, brought together as a body, may effect unity with him. CEH 3.3

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[10] III[a] q. 67 a. 8 co.
[11] III[a] q. 67 a. 8 co.

Colet also applies scriptural language to new settings, such as shaking the dust from one's feet, here transformed into further spiritual symbolism of purity as the goal of a congregation's members under their minister:

> Nam vult ministros secernere et separare homines a mundo et seipsis, et quasi exuere eos pristina consuetudine penitus et denudare, ut nihil habeant contrarii quo minus illuminentur a sacramentis, sed sint excusso et exterso pulvere puri tanquam tabula rasa apti iam ut in eis celestis imago depingatur.
>
> For he wishes the ministers to part asunder and separate men from the world and themselves, as it were to strip them of their former mode of life and to lay them bare completely, so that they may possess nothing contrary whereby the sacraments may illumine them less, that they may be pure, with the dust shaken out and rubbed off, always ready like a clean slate so that the heavenly image may be figured upon them. CEH 5.1

Further, Colet's use of phrases that have roots in classical literature reflects newer meanings from their use in a post-classical environment. The phrase *pristina consuetudo*, for example, as used in the passage above, refers to one's personal habit and training. But Colet strips this phrase of its technical classical connotation as used by Cicero and Julius Caesar in a general political sense to mean ancient legal custom; or perhaps he did not know it.[12] Colet's use is closer to the way the phrase is used, for example, in Augustine and the monastic rule attributed to him to mean "training," "habit," "personal way of living":

> Qui infirmi sunt ex pristina consuetudine, si aliter tractantur in victu, non debet aliis molestum esse nec iniustum videri, quos facit alia consuetudo fortiores.[13]
>
> If those who are of weaker health from their former way of living are treated differently with regard to food, this ought not to be vexatious nor seem unjust to others whom another habit makes stronger.

Observations about Colet's Latin made elsewhere have pointed to other departures from a steady, methodical prose more characteristic of scholastic treatises. Two traits have stood out. The first is the inclusion of digressions, "long passionate mini-orations within his commentaries." The second is that Colet's sentences have ample range regarding length:

> His style in the commentaries ranges from laconic terseness to expansive exhortation. Predominant is a loose expository style echoing the homiletic

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[12] Cicero Ep. 5.20.2; 10.28; Caesar Civ. 1.32.3; 3.79.6. Cf. Phaedrus (Fabulae Aesopiae) 4.13.6.
[13] Ep. CCXI.

> practice of Saint John Chrysostom but lacking the latter's systematic pattern of exposition followed by moral application. Colet breaks nonsystematic paraphrase and interpretation of the Vulgate text to insert sometimes lengthy reflective, admonitory, epideictic, exhortatory, or speculative digressions.[14]

To these should be added a notice of his metaphorical and imaginative passages. His tendency toward metaphorical speech often results in colorful transpositions, as here, where Colet doesn't say that the pontifex "burns incense" [*flagrare* is intransitive], but rather that the pontifex himself "burns with the sweetest aroma of incense":

> Verum nunc altiora videamus. Pontifex ille personam dei agit, qui totus ad altare in conspectu dei flagrat suavissimo odore incensi, quod est signum redolentissime charitatis sue. CEH 3.3

Even with simple sentences, Colet is careful to retain parallelism. Here, for example, is a carefully constructed progression using a single part of speech in the movement of past to present and to future in three adjectival forms:

> In quo sunt et demortui et vivi, et qui credent omnes futuri qui sacra communione et celesti cibo sustinentur in christo in alta societate dei.
>
> In him exist both the dead and the living, and all who in future will believe, who are supported in God's elevated society in Christ by holy communion and heavenly food. CEH 3.3

Another literary feature of Colet's Latin prose is the weaving of sentences out of a few vocabulary elements by building a series of pairings in a theme-and-variation structure. This patterning may be seen in his discussion of the relationship between faith and works wherein his sentence structure is made to reflect the close mutual relationship between the two virtues. In the opening two sentences the two dynamic acts, believing and performing good works, are featured in connection with the interplay between purpose and potential. A Christian must both be able and willing to believe in Christ and his Gospel; the Christian must be willing to perform good works to the degree that they can be done. The sentences are parallel with the infinitives in first position and the modal verbs subtly distinguished at the end of each sentence:

> Credere igitur evangelio bonoque nuncio Christi oportet possis et velis. Operari autem simul velis, quatenus possis. Operari autem, inquam, sicut operatus est Christus, oportet velis omnino quatenus possis.

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[14] Daniel Lochman, "John Colet," *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 132. 87.

Colet's repetition then emphasizes that the potential of each individual is given "by the all-potent God in Christ":

> Potest autem quisque quatenus ei a potente Deo in Christo datur.

Colet then employs the metaphor of divine radiance like the rays of light from the sun, drawing individuals together and then warming them. This progression is reflected grammatically in Colet's sentences which play on a few word-roots in an alternation of the part of speech, as here with *unus*, *potens*, *lux*, and *calor*:

> Et sunt a divisione et infirmitate ad unitatem et potentiam varii tractus per unificos Christi radios et prepotentes, qui tamquam a sole veritatis fusi, multiplicatos quasi colligunt et contrahunt ad se in unitatem ut luceant, ut deinde ex luce caleant. Ut enim potentes, luminosi, et calentes solis radii, profecti in aliquod quod faciant solare, primum agunt ut quod apprehendunt id simplex omnino et sui simile faciant, et (quod fieri potest) vere sibi unum in se, que rei sua unitas potentia est; tum illustrant; prostremo calificunt; ut ex unitate lux, ex luce calor enascantur; ita similiter omnino ab uno, vero, et bono Christo in homines ubi vult proficisitur quidem quod primum unit infirmos in potentiam, deinde illuminat in veritatem, postremo calefacit in bonitatem, ut ex unitione hominis veritas, ex veritate bonitas sequatur.[15]

Colet's theme-and-variation structure often forms more antithetical pairings that emphasize one element over the other. In theological discourse this tendency simplifies the point being made and stands in contrast to the tendency in scholastic treatises to refine distinctions and make arguments more subtle. In terms of form, this represents an intentional, pointed style on Colet's part for singling out emphatic statements. Readers encounter this in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* commentary, for example, in presentation of the superiority of the will over intellect in seeking the heavenly life. Colet makes that same point in three short juxtaposed sentences. We note the striking contrast between nouns in the first sentence, verbs in the second, and adjectives in the third:

> Scientia enim non ducit ad vitam sed charitas.
>
> For not knowledge but charity leads to life.

Then immediately thereafter:

> Si quis diligit Deum, hic cognitus est ab eo.
>
> If someone loves God, he [God] is perceived by him.

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[15] *Commentary on First Corinthians*, ed. O'Kelly and Jarrott, 146.

Concluding with a metaphorical line to confirm the point.

> Ignorans amor plus potest mille modis quam frigida sapientia.
>
> Ignorant love is able [to do] a thousand times more than cold wisdom.
>
> CEH 3.2

There is much sound theology here, but there is much left unsaid. The second sentence, for example, does not specify whether God, the object of human love, is known before being loved. Colet's emphasis is rather that love is responsible for that perception which is meaningful and is not a condition for another act. Hence its superiority. He returns to that idea elsewhere in the commentary, as when he writes:

> Depinget deus plenam suam imaginem si in illum totus homo intendat assidue.
>
> God will represent his whole image if the whole man should strive continuously towards him. CEH 4.1,2

In the tradition of the underlying question there was much to debate, but Colet sacrifices the many distinctions to his purpose of emphasizing the immediate appeal to love as a call to action. While Thomas Aquinas, for example, approached the question in more detail and saw an intrinsic relationship between the intellect and the will in all human action, he still worked throughout his writings to maintain an essential priority of the intellect over the will.[16] To maintain the necessary subtle distinctions, his language is replete with requisite qualifications. He expresses his resolution in the *Summa Theologiae*, for example, in a series of sentences each qualifying the previous with a series of contrasting clauses introduced by *autem*:

> Sicut dictum est, bonitas voluntatis proprie ex obiecto dependet. Obiectum autem voluntatis proponitur ei per rationem. Nam bonum intellectum est obiectum voluntatis proportionatum ei; bonum autem sensibile, vel imaginarium, non est proportionatum voluntati, sed appetitui sensitivo, quia voluntas potest tendere in bonum universale, quod ratio apprehendit; appetitus autem sensitivus non tendit nisi in bonum particulare, quod apprehendit vis sensitiva. Et ideo bonitas voluntatis dependet a ratione, eo modo quo dependet ab obiecto.
>
> As stated above, the will's goodness depends properly on the object. But the will's object is proposed to it by reason; for the good understood is the proportionate object of the will, while sensitive or imaginary good is proportionate

[16] Michael S. Sherwin, *By Knowledge and By Love: Charity and Knowledge in the Moral Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, DC: Catholic U of America P, 2005), 18–31 and 207.

> not to the will but to the sensitive appetite: since the will can tend to the universal good, which reason apprehends; whereas the sensitive appetite tends only to the particular good, apprehended by the sensitive power. Therefore the goodness of the will depends on reason, in the same way as it depends on the object.[17]

Similarly, Duns Scotus takes on the question of intellect and will essentially disagreeing with Thomas and holding that the will has primacy. In this tradition, love is superior to knowledge. So in this sense Colet's position is more akin to that of Scotus, but Scotus makes a condition that the will can only act after an object has been acquired by the intellect, according to the maxim, *nihil volitum quin praecognitum*, "nothing is wished for that is not first known":

> Volitio est effectus posterior intellectione naturaliter, … et propter illum ordinem necessarium, non potest causari volitio a voluntate, nisi prius causetur ab intellectu intellectio.
>
> An act of will is the aftereffect following an act of understanding, and this by nature … and because of that essential ordering, an act of will cannot be caused by the will unless understanding be first cause by the intellect.[18]

Both might stand in humanist assessment as equivocations. Were they examples of blotterature to Colet? Thomas's reflection may be more theologically astute; but its technical cross-referencing and qualifications, typical of scholastic writing and useful in an academic appreciation of the topic, are cool and distant compared with Colet's presentation of the question from a practical standpoint and with the interest in influencing action. Thus, added to the Christianizing of the classical Latin idiom regarding vocabulary and context, there is also the humanist separation from the dialectical progression of the technical scholastic treatise.

Colet was a reformer, and while of his near contemporaries many who acquired that label in the formal historical period of Protestant Reformation saw the dispute with Rome as a necessary effort to remove accretions to the church's doctrine and practice that had built up throughout the Middle Ages, Colet's vision emphasized more than most the restoration of what he considered to have been lost from ecclesiastical culture. This is evidenced by his interest in the restoration of the study of Greek. A key to understanding Colet's interest in a pure form of Latin is also to be found in relation to his

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[17] [34367] Iª-IIae q. 19 a. 3 co.

[18] Scotus, *Opus Oxoniense*, II, d. 25, q. unica, n. 19, in *Opera omnia*, ed. L. Wadding, (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1891–1895), 13. 212.

restorative ecclesiology. A few historians have attempted to describe Colet's vision of the Church away from the typical Protestant-Catholic debate. In the vacuum they have sought to present Colet's vision as deeply personal and even unique. Gleason in particular pointed to the many aspects of Colet's ecclesiology that seem to him to be the vision of a perfectionist. Gleason's Colet sought no structural or doctrinal change to the existing order, but the renewal of people's minds and a *perfected* church for the glory of God. And with all the martialing of evidence, of which several points have been summarized thus far in this essay, Jonathan Arnold is ready and willing to accept Colet as a problematic, even puzzling figure whose ecclesiology is an aspect of an individual vision:

> Colet does not fall easily into any historical, intellectual, or ecclesiastical category. He was not part of a humanist club, but he was a humanist; he was not a proto-Protestant, but he was critical of the Church; he was not a Lollard, but he was suspected of heresy; he was not an Oxford reformer, but he was, for a time, an Oxford intellectual; most importantly, he was not a reformer who actually changed things, although he dearly wished to be. Ultimately, Colet escapes identification with any other set of contemporaneous idealists because his vision was his own. His ecclesiology set him apart because it combined a huge and eclectic range of ideas into an individualistic vision of perfection.[19]

As eloquent a statement as that is, and correct as far as it goes, the antithetical rhetoric leaves many disparate fragments. It is not a little tautological. It has been said that Colet so combined the personal and political, i.e., mystical and clerical elements of Dionysius's thought as to make a unique ecclesiastical vision. Arnold's discussion of the sources of Colet's perfectionism mentions Dionysius, then Pauline theology, Platonism and Neoplatonism, Augustinianism, and the Franciscan tradition. But if there are problems fitting Colet's ecclesiology with Protestantism on one side, and Roman Catholicism, even a reform-spirited Catholicism, on the other, perhaps a closer fit can be understood through Dionysius to the tradition of the Eastern Fathers and the traditions of Christian Orthodoxy. Colet's commentary on Romans 12.2 in his *Exposition on Romans*, for example, states that the mission of the members of the church was

> ut abducant se omnino a sordibus huius mundi … et quasi aptam et expurgatam materiam se divinae reformacioni subiciant; ut, sicut in celo, quod in dominica oracione petimus, sic eciam in terra aliquando Deus regnet, et in ipsis hominibus imperium habeat.

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[19] Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 16.

> to withdraw themselves wholly from the defilements of this world … and submit themselves, as matter fit and cleansed, to the divine reformation. Thus at length, as we ask in the Lord's Prayer, God would reign on earth as in heaven, and exercise dominion among men themselves.[20]

But rather than think immediately of Augustine or Francis, it is possible to hear the words of the *Cherubic Hymn* of the Orthodox Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom:

> Let us set aside all the cares of life that we may receive the King of all, invisibly escorted by the angelic hosts,[21]

after which the Lord's Prayer is recited before the Eucharist is administered to the faithful.

Dionysius is the patristic author that Colet cites the most in all his writings. In addition to the two treatises by Colet, on the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Colet quotes from Dionysius fourteen additional times, of which ten are from that patristic writer's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. For the *Celestial Hierarchy* and *Divine Names* of Dionysius, Colet used the Latin translations of Ficino. He may have used Traversari's translation of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, since Ficino did not translate that text.[22] A Greek edition was not published until the Juntina of 1516. We know that the ecclesiology described in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius does not reflect the order at the time of Saint Paul but the Church in the sixth century, the period during which the foundations of Byzantine Orthodoxy began to flourish, from the age of Justinian through the completion of the Church's ecclesiological and doctrinal structures with the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787. Although the identity of Dionysius was debated East and West, some Byzantine scholars doubted, and doubted earlier than their Western counterparts, whether Dionysius was from the first century. The prologue to the Scholia on Dionysius by the sixth-century bishop John of Scythopolis, for example, shows that there were those who already suspected that Dionysius

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[20] ER 58–59; Latin 175–176.

[21] "Liturgy of John Chrysostom, Cherubic Hymn," *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, eds. F.E. Brightman and C.E. Hammond, (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1896, repr. 1967), 1. 377–379.

[22] M. Nasta, "Quatre états de la textualité du Corpus Dionysien," in *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident, actes du Colloque international, Paris 21–24 septembre 1994*, éd. Y. de Andia (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1997), esp. 64–65; M. Cristiani, "Dionigi Dionisiaco: Marsilio Ficino e il 'Corpus Dionysianum,'" *Il neoplatonismo del Rinascimento, atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma-Firenze 12–15 dicembre 1990*, (Rome: P. Prini, 1993), 185–203.

was not the disciple of Paul but a much later writer.[23] For our purposes, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is the more important since, of all of Colet's extant writings, his tractate on that text is the most focused on the Church militant, that is, on earth, but also the situation in that Church of his own time. The *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is an ideal text for this, since it divides the living among the clergy, the initiated, and those who do not participate in the life of the Church. This is evident, for example, in Colet's eloquent lament for the degenerated practices of his day when compared with the age of the Church Fathers:

> Quod iam a consuetudine decessisse ingemendum est, sane quum nos in conservandis institutis patrum nostrorum multo studiosiores esse debemus quam erant hebrei in suis traditionibus retinendis, quanto nostra excellentiora et clariora sunt quam que erant illorum et maioris veritatis purioris significamina, quorum racionem et congruitatem maxime nimirum noverunt apostoli, qu[ibus] spiritus revelavit omnia, ut non poterat esse quin illi sapienter intellexerint que singula singulis apte accommodarent; et iusta concinnitate depingerent spiritales veritates in propriis signis—que postea demutata esse haud scio quomodo sine nephario scelere contigit—quum credendum est illos a spiritusancto doctos omnia in ecclesia instituisse.
>
> But now to have departed from custom is to be lamented, when we ought surely to be much more eager to preserve what our fathers have instituted than were the Hebrews in retaining theirs, in that ours are more excellent and clearer, of greater truth and purer significance than theirs, whose principle and fitness the apostles undoubtedly perceived, to whom the spirit has disclosed all so that it could not be but that they wisely understood what to fit appropriately, each to each; and that they portrayed spiritual truths by fit signs, with due elegance—what has befallen afterwards—changed I know not how without foul crime—when it is believed those taught by the holy spirit established everything in the church.[24]

Colet is remarking specifically about the disuse of the right of the consecration of monks, including the rite of tonsure, which was performed in early Christianity from the time of the Apostles on all believers and which is still done in the Eastern Church. Colet's elegant Latin prose offers readers both an emotionally charged expression of that loss and a reasoned argument, comparing those customs of the first Christians with the customs the ancient Hebrews, a less precious inheritance in his view but one which, as he

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[23] Gleason 200; Sarah Klitenic Wear and John Dillon, *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition* (Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 2007), 3; Paul Rorem and John C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1998), 99–102.

[24] CEH 6.2–3.

argues, their heirs have preserved more faithfully. The strategy of comparing earlier and contemporary customs and practices, and deploring the latter, is widespread in Colet's time as the rising spirit of reform and the enthusiasm over display rhetoric in humanist culture coalesce, although the corrupt present age was more often compared to the classical, apostolic, and patristic ages.[25] Despite the strong likelihood that Colet was influenced by the climate of such rhetorical laments among his contemporaries influenced by the new humanism, he does not separate rhetorical embellishment from moral purpose. What was a conventional literary device was also a cry for practical reform of the church's hierarchy, liturgy, and sacramental essence that was seriously meant.

Colet's tractates on Romans and First Corinthians as well contain ample quotations from patristic writers. As mentioned, he has been shown to quote from the Latin Fathers Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Lactantius, Gregory the Great, Tertullian, and Sedulius; and of the Greek Fathers, Origen, John Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzus. He used them as the tradition provided them to him. Augustine was already in print. Origen, although available in print in Latin translation since 1503, was likely not known to Colet in that publication from the Aldus press but rather from Pico della Mirandola. His sources of the other Fathers were also secondary; that is to say, not directly from manuscripts or printed editions, because he simply pre-dates many of those. The first edition of Origen in Greek, for example, dates from 1602. For the Bible he had to rely on the Vulgate, although Erasmus could have served as intermediary for access to a copy of the New Testament in Greek. For a time after 1505 Erasmus was at work preparing a new translation on the Greek New Testament. Colet may actually have owned a Greek manuscript of the New Testament.

Commenting on Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Colet drew closer to themes developed by the Eastern Fathers without Augustinian influence. His chief sources, then, of the Greek Fathers are Latin translations that he read presumably while he was in Italy, and quotations of the Greek Fathers by Western writers.[26] Robert Peters summarizes Colet's knowledge and use of the patristic authors by saying that, on the debit side it shows the obvious

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[25] See John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, 1450–1521* (Raleigh, NC: Duke UP, 1979), 182–183.

[26] Erasmus includes Dionysius and Origen among the patristic writers that Colet read while in Italy: *Epistolae* iv. 515, as noted in Jayne 49.

restrictions placed upon the patrologist of his day: the focus on fourth-century authors, the lack of reliable texts. On the credit side is the fact of Colet's use of genuine works of the Fathers and applying them in their original context, which is important for our efforts to relate Colet's ecclesiology with Byzantine Orthodox Christianity.[27]

Colet was also aware of history and shows concern for understanding the context of the biblical texts he treats of in his commentaries. Scholars have noted, for example, that when Colet discusses Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians and Romans he praises Paul's wise strategy of commending what he could about the people there, and giving thanks for their faith to make them receptive to hearing his message, and his prudent consideration of the ethos of that historical Greek community, proud people, as Colet says, arrogant even, and inclined to take offense.

Colet's remarks in this echo John Chrysostom's commentary on the same place in Paul's letter:

> So long as there was need of expressions as harsh as these, he [Paul] refrained from drawing up the curtain, and went on arguing as if he were himself the person to whom they were addressed; in order that the dignity of the persons censured tending to counteract the censurers, no room might be left for flying out in wrath at the charges.[28]

Such attention to social context, labeled a departure from "the usual biblical exegesis of his day," has been taken as a sign of Colet's humanism. Jerome is known to have made historical observations in the Vulgate, but where Jerome makes them in his prefaces, Colet makes them in the very course of his exegesis. Historical awareness, of course, does not mean that Colet's interest was antiquarian. He interpreted the words of Paul and the message of all of Sacred Scripture and the literature of the early Church as a witness to eternal truth, and he evaluated the ethical situation of his own time in relation to that truth. This has been considered an example of Antiochian exegesis, like Chrysostom's.

Scholars have commented both on Colet's writing style and his method of exegesis. We hope to have shown that there is value further in relating those two practices in a view of Colet's ecclesiology, as they help to confirm Colet's interest in restoring an Early Christian esthetic and his preference for patristic source literature for its grace, antiquity and non-technical form of writing. In a study of Colet's intellectual development published in

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[27] Robert Peters, "John Colet's Knowledge and Use of Patristics," *Moreana* 22 (1969), 54.

[28] Chrysostom, Hom. 12 on 1 Cor. trans, NPNF Series 1 vol. 12.

1953, Albert Duhamel argued that Colet learned to exercise grammar over dialectic as the principal method for interpreting the Bible, a method which those Early Christian writers had used and which was again championed by Lorenzo Valla in his careful attention to linguistic, historical, stylistic information in reading texts. By grammar Duhamel meant that Colet practiced a form of discourse that focused on linguistic, historical, ethical and esthetic analysis, where cognition is principally a 'linguistic' act and not one seeking understanding through dialectic and abstract doctrine. Scholars with a grammatical exegetical emphasis reflect in their own writing a concern for imagery and elegance. Such writing is often built to convince the intellect through persuasion of the will in that order. Thus, Duhamel argued that Colet's own writing uses abundant imagery such as light, fire, microcosm, battle, race, journey, lodestone, all of which reflects the Christian Neoplatonism that Colet encountered in the Early Christian writers he was studying.[29] Thus, for all the limitation of access to sources, Sears Jayne considered Colet part of the Tudor Hellenization of Christianity.[30] But while the emphasis on acquiring knowledge through introspection into the invisible world of ideas is a general feature of Neoplatonism, Duhamel saw the influence of the specifically Early Christian emphasis on "the limitations of the human reason in its attempts to encompass God." For this reason too regarding Colet and classical sources, Leland Miles focused on Colet's well-attested Platonism and called it "middle of the road," and, as he labeled it, 'Clementine' more than either 'Tertullian' or 'Florentine,' which is a way of saying that Colet's use of Platonism is more akin to the positive but selective approach to Greek philosophy taken by the Greek church father Clement of Alexandria rather than the rejection of it by Tertullian and the broad embracing of it by Ficino.[31] He read Ficino's *Epistolae*, which is a series of comments on the *Theologia Platonica*. He likely read Pico's *Heptaplus* as well. Thus it may be concluded that the state of Colet's interest in Neoplatonism, as it influenced the Gospel message of early Christianity, was sufficiently strong for him to engage it under those terms in his own day.[32] Consequently Colet was seen frequently to accept the necessity of metaphorical knowledge as the limit for human knowledge of God.

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[29] Albert Duhamel, "The Oxford Lectures of John Colet" 500.

[30] Sears Jayne, *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* 41.

[31] "John Colet: An Appreciation," *Moreana* 22 (May 1969), 6–7.

[32] See Robert Peters, "The Contribution of the Eastern Fathers to the Intellectual Equipment of English Clergy during the Sixteenth Century," *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae IV* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1972), 95.

Those have been contentious claims, and O'Kelly for one put forth a more refined description of Colet's exegetical practices almost point by point compared with Duhamel. O'Kelly argues that "even Colet's respect for the usefulness of grammar as distinguished from dialectic is not a mark by which one may distinguish his exegetical methods from that of Thomas [Aquinas]." But O'Kelly does concede that there is validity in seeing Colet's exegesis as having non-dialectical qualities. Comparing Colet's commentary on First Corinthians with that of Thomas, he speaks of Colet's as extra-scholastic, that is, not written for academics, clerics, and professional scholars but as it were "for the whole world," and thus more discursive and practical in its mission. To that we can agree. As with Paul's Greek, Colet's Latin style is aptly suited for its purpose.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library MS add. 63853 John Colet, *In ecclesiasticam divi Dionysii hierarchiam*
CCC	Colet's *Commentary on 1 Corinthians* John Colet, *Commentary on First Corinthians*. Bernard O'Kelly, tr., and Catherine A.L. Jarrott, ed. Binghamton NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985
CCH	Colet on the *Celestial Hierarchy* John Colet. *Super opera Dionysii*. J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1869
CEH	Colet on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* John Colet. *Super opera Dionysii*. J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1869
DCH	Dionysius's *Celestial Hierarchy* Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-). *Opera Omnia*. Ed. B. Corderius in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. Paris: Garnier, 1857. Vol. 3 English translation: Colm Luibheid. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*. New York: Paulist P, 1987.
DEH	Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-). *Opera Omnia*. Ed. B. Corderius in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. Paris: Garnier, 1857. Vol. 3 English translation: Colm Luibheid. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*. New York: Paulist P, 1987.
DN	Dionysius's *Divine Names* Dionysius the Areopagite (Pseudo-). *Opera Omnia*. Ed. B. Corderius in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. Paris: Garnier, 1857. Vol. 3 English translation: Colm Luibheid. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*. New York: Paulist P, 1987.
ER	Colet's *Enarratio in epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* John Colet. *Enarratio in epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* (*Lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Romans*). J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1873
ExR	Colet's *Epistolae B. Pauli ad Romanos. Expositio Literalis* (Chapters I–V only) John Colet, *Opuscula quaedam theologica*. J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1876
L	Lupton's edition of Colet's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* John Colet. *Super opera Dionysii*. J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1869
Latham	Latham, R.E. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*. Oxford: British Academy by Oxford UP, 1965
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983.

PL	Migne's Patrologia Series Latina
PG	Migne's Patrologia Series Graecae
Rad	Colet's *Epistolae ad Radulphum. In Principium Genesios* John Colet. *Opuscula quaedam theologica*. J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1876
Ramminger	Johann Ramminger. *Neulateinische Wortliste: Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*. Munich. 27 February 2011.
SE	Colet's *De Sacramentis Ecclesiae* John Colet. *Super opera Dionysii*. J.H. Lupton, ed. London: Bell, 1869
SP	St. Paul's School MS of Colet's Dionysian works John Colet. *Super Opera Dionysii, De sacramentis*. Unnumbered MS (SP). St. Paul's School Lib., London
TEH	Traversarius's text and/or scholia of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. Ambrosius Traversarius. *Dionysius Areopagita, Opera*. Strasbourg: G. Husner, 1503.

NOTES ON THE TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND TRANSCRIPTION

Our copy text is British Library MS Add 63853 (formerly British Library MS Loan 55/2).[1] The manuscript is vellum, 27 × 18 cm; 142 folios (a–r^{8s}, s^{6}) 22 lines per page; d$^{5–6}$, o^{1} blank. The two works are divided by four blank leaves (d5–d8). Unlike the treatise on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, which had been included in the presumably earlier Cambridge University Library MS Gg.iv.26, partly completed in Colet's hand and including three other treatises and a letter, the earliest extant version of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is the MS in the British Library.

The text of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* begins on e1^{r} and continues to the end on o2^{v}. At chapter and section headings, the scribe, Peter Meghen, has left spaces for ornamental initials, but none have been added.[2] J.B. Trapp identifies three hands: Meghen's, Colet's (making interlinear and intralinear corrections and insertions in spaces left by the scribe in about one half the MS), and an unidentified "red annotating hand" that adds chapter and section headings as well as marginal notations. The leather-bound boards are stamped with the arms of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.[3] The manuscript bears several erasures, as noted below, sometimes corrected by Colet and sometimes left blank. The corrections occur beginning at e7^{v} and appear regularly through i4^{r}. From i6^{r} to the end, spaces left for corrections remain unfilled, apparently due to Meghen's inability to decipher Colet's hand, questions as to the accuracy of the text, and/or Colet's inability to complete the corrections. Why Colet did not complete the revisions and why he revised the sections he did are interesting but unanswerable questions. Two folios of this MS bear small holes, each about one-half inch in diameter (see folio e2), but they appear to predate Meghen's transcription since in both cases the scribe adjusted the text to fit the available space.

British Library MS (BL) has been chosen as copy-text because, of two extant MSS, it alone bears Colet's corrections. It therefore certainly dates

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[1] See J.B. Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts, and the Ps.-Dionysius," 205–221, esp. 215 and n. 4 thereon.

[2] On Meghen and his associations with Colet, Erasmus, and others in the early sixteenth century, see J.B. Trapp, "Notes on Manuscripts written by Peter Meghen," *The Book Collector* 24 (1975), 80–96, and Gleason 71.

[3] On the sketchy provenance of this MS, see Trapp, "John Colet," pp. 215–217.

from 1519 or earlier. We have collated this text against the St. Paul's School MS (SP) as well as J.H. Lupton's printed text. The undated but derivative SP is a paper transcript, in a secretarial hand, of British Library MS; it is 25×19 cm, consisting of 114 folios (a-i) gathered in 12s, together with an additional gathering (k) in six. As Trapp notes, the transcript lacks three leaves, a4–a5 and c4, the latter omission affecting Lupton's printed text of the treatise on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.[4] In his 1869 edition, Lupton followed SP, apparently because he did not know of the existence of BL.[5] At a number of places Lupton silently alters or corrects SP, in some cases making changes as well as speculative readings found in neither MS. Often, Lupton's changes provide improved readings, but often too they establish texts that are unnecessary, incorrect, or unjustified in light of readings in BL. In a list of Colet's works and attributions appended to the *Opuscula quaedam theologica*, published in 1876, Lupton notes that SP is signed by a Peter Fanwood and speculates that its hand dates from the late sixteenth century.[6] It was presented to the School, where it remains, by a student, Robert Emmot, in 1759.[7]

In the textual apparatus, the present editors note differences according to the following criteria, arranged in a descending order of importance: 1) omissions of sections, sentences, or phrases; 2) substitutions of words or short phrases; 3) insertion of words or phrases not in BL; 4) changes in spelling and punctuation that seem particularly relevant to the subject or to the translation. Lupton silently added and changed many commas, parentheses, and other marks of punctuation, as well as spellings and words, apparently to aid in reading and translation. For the most part, Lupton's minor alterations have been omitted without comment. In the Latin text, we include Colet's or Meghen's inaccuracies as they appear in BL; where evident, we note errors in the notes to the translation.

In translating BL, we attempt to present a literal translation that is as clear and readable as the difficult subject matter and Colet's style allow. In some passages that are possibly corrupted or muddled in Colet's original text, an accurate rendering may no longer be achieved. However, the sense of the text usually emerges, with due allowance for 1) the high frequency of late

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[4] Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts" 216.

[5] Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts" 218. See Lupton's Appendix to *Opuscula Quaedam Theologica* 311: "The original of … the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is not found, to my knowledge, anywhere else than in the St. Paul's School transcript."

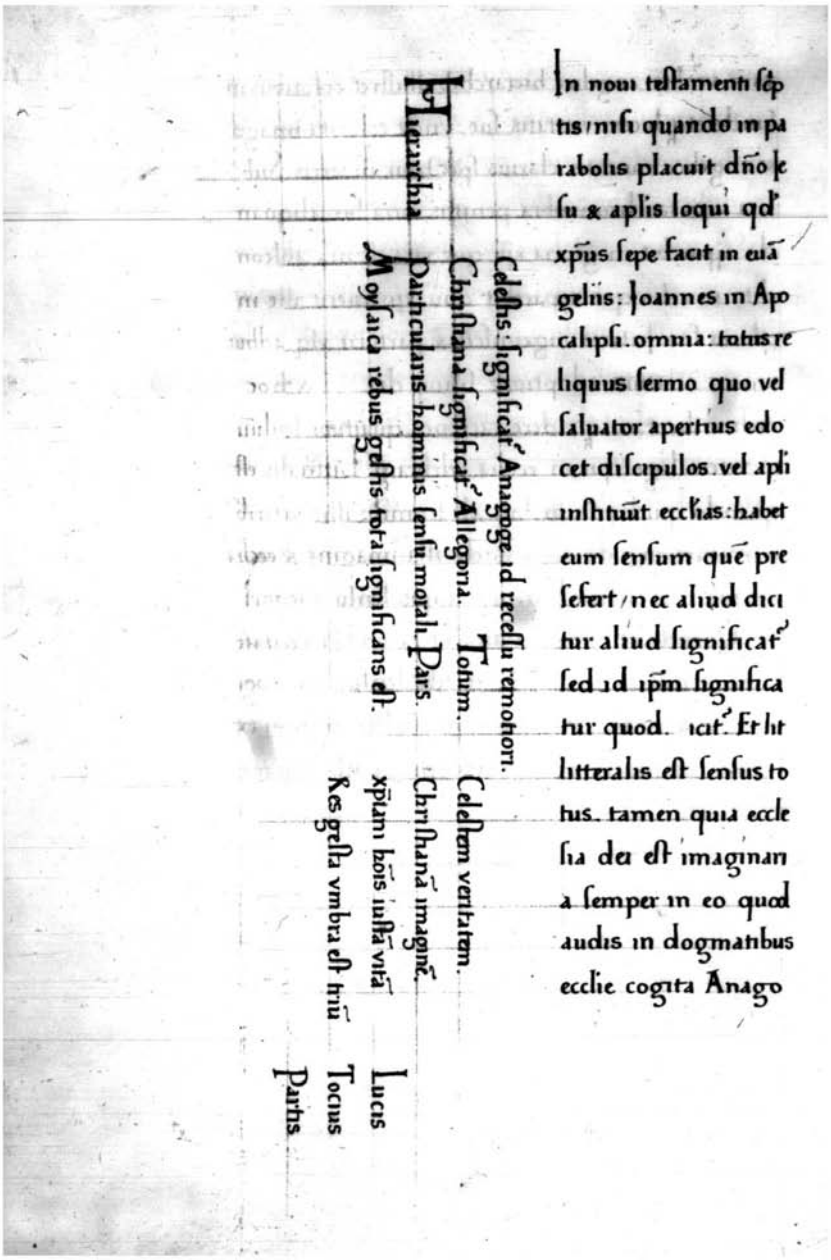
[6] Appendix, p. 311.

[7] Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts" 216.

medieval Latin idioms relative to Colet's Latin in the Pauline commentaries and elsewhere, together with numerous rare classical words; 2) ecclesiastical language unavoidable in the liturgical rites described by Dionysius; 3) Colet's common practice of juxtaposing summary, paraphrase, chains of Biblical sources suggested by Dionysius or added by Colet himself; and 4) Colet's custom of creating complex series of clauses that are sometimes detached from their referents.

Meghen's humanist script in BL is spacious on the page and clearly written. The text bears standard neo-Latin abbreviations. Our transcription preserves most lexical features but does regularize abbreviations and consistent features, such as the use of *e* for *æ*, *i* for *j, v* for *u* (and vice versa); *s* for ſ; and *et* for *&*. In some cases, we have retained the often seemingly arbitrary distinction between *c* and *t* before *i* on the chance that it reflects differences in pronunciation. Since it is often difficult if not impossible to determine whether punctuation, particularly virgules used to show pauses or items in series or parentheses are the scribe's, Colet's, or some later reader's, and since it is our aim to present a Latin text that is readable and an English translation that follows the Latin sentence structure, we have modernized the punctuation. In so doing we have ignored punctuation in the MS in cases where we cannot confidently attribute punctuation to Meghen's or Colet's hands; but where such punctuation is made with ink and a stroke similar to Meghen's, we have observed it.

This edition omits notation of common orthographic differences such as the interchangeable *i* and *j* or *c* and *t* (as in *eciam* and *etiam*), due to nearly random variation in both MSS and in L. Other orthographic substitutions not annotated include the pairs *exs-* and *ex-* (as in *exstasim* and *extasim*), *c* and *ch* (as in *cathecizare* and *cathechizare*), *quu* and *cu* (as in *loquutus* and *locuutus*), *s* and *c* (as in *reconsiliatio* and *reconciliatio*), *s* and *t* (as in *dispersio* and *dispertio*), *t* for *d* (as in *caput* and *capud*), *y* and *i* (as in *mysterium* and *misterium*), as well as *z* and *s* (as in *evangelizatum* and *evangelisatum*). Also not annotated are differences that result from the arbitrary doubling of the consonants *l*, *m*, *n*, and *t* (as in the pairs *solliciti / soliciti*, *commissura / comissura*, *concinnunt / concinunt*, *litteris / literis*), as well as words that appear as compounds (as in *Deus pater / Deuspater* or *se ipsis / seipsis*).


Celestis: significat Anagogē id recessu remotiori.
Christiana significat Allegoria. Totum. Celestem veritatem.
Particularis hominis sensu morali. Pars. Christianā imaginē.
Mystica rebus gestis tota significans est. xpiāni hoīs iusta vitā Lucas
Res gesta vmbra est triū Tocius
Partis

In noui testamenti scp
tis nisi quando in pa
rabolis placuit dño ie
su & aplis loqui qd
xpūs sepe facit in eua
gelijs: Joannes in Apo
calipsi. omnia: totus re
liquus sermo quo vel
saluator apertius edo
cet discipulos vel apli
instituūt ecclias: habet
eum sensum quē pre
sefert nec aliud dici
tur aliud significat
sed id ipm significa
tur quod. ict. Et hi
litteralis est sensus to
tus. tamen quia eccle
sia dei est imaginari
a semper in eo quod
audis in dogmatibus
ecclie cogita Anago

Facsimile of British Library MS add. 63853, Chapter V.1, i7^{v}, in two columns, showing on the left one of several charts in CEH. See p. 236 below.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[Ioannes Coletus in Ecclesiasticam Divi Dionisii Hierarchiam]

[CAP. I]

e1r [S]acra scriptura nos edocet humanum sacerdotium ex alto divinam habere in se et sapientiam et actionem. In sacerdotio humano sunt quidem omnes, qui in christo deo consecrantur.

Sacrarum scripturarum sensus penitus spiritalis est, quem totum suis indicavit Iesus; unde apostolorum institutis sacrificia ritus ceremonie in ecclesia una cum ea adolevisse credendum est. Post resurrectionem suam Iesus quid velint scripture ad conditionem et statum nove ecclesie in ipso ipse prodibit. Sensus ergo ille spiritalis, qui ut intelligatur eget spiritu

2 The work's title and all subsequent chapter titles, subheadings, and numbers have been supplied by the so-called red-annotating hand or Lupton, not Colet or Meghen.

John Colet on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Saint Dionysius

[Chapter 1. On Hierarchy]

Holy scripture teaches us unequivocally that the human priesthood possesses within itself both divine wisdom and action,[1] derived from what is on high. Indeed, all within the human priesthood are consecrated to God in Christ.

The sense of the holy scriptures, the whole of which Jesus has made known to his, is utterly spiritual;[2] whence we are to believe that, with the establishment of the Apostles, sacrifices, rites, [and] ceremonies grew up within the church as a unity. After his resurrection, Jesus himself will reveal what the scriptures wish regarding the arrangement and condition of the new church within him. Therefore that spiritual sense, which requires a prophetical spirit to be understood, is the wisdom and

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[1] The opening sentence conjoins *sapientia* and *actio* in a single principle of the priesthood, derived from scripture, and it thereby points to two central elements in Colet's comments on Paul and Dionysius: the scriptural authority for and temporal priority of philosophical, interior understanding (*intellectus*) together with the expression of that wisdom (distinct from the merely ratiocinative activities of reason and logic) through *actiones*. In CCC, Colet writes that spiritual *actio*, which gives life to true priesthood, is the intervention of God as the agent of spiritual creation with a just, illumined and perfected individual—the priest: "The agent disposes into a form. The object, being formed, at length acts *per se*. All right action of a perfect object is by its own form, and from the form action is derived" ("Disponit agens in formam. Res formata denique per se agit. Omnis proba actio rei perfecte est sua forma, under actio procedit") (CCC 13. 258, 259). Moreover, this type of *actio* represents the interior operation of the Spirit that prompts charity, which is the "intrinsic and essential form of the spiritual man" ("spiritalis hominis forma intrinseca est et essentialis"). The new spiritual form of Christianity gives one the "power of and control over spiritual action" ("potens … spiritalis actionis et compos") and results in the external manifestation of internal *operatio* as works (*opera*) performed cooperatively with the Spirit (CCC 13. 260, 261).

[2] Cf. DEH, 1. 1 (PG 3. 372A). Colet uses the phrase "sensus penitus" to translate Dionysius's "mystagogy." Colet's phrase does not appear in Traversarius's translation of the passage (TEH 22^{v}). Although Colet occasionally refers to the four-fold method of reading scripture, as below in Chapter 5, he more often distinguishes as here between the "spirit" and the "flesh" or letter of scripture in the fashion of Origen. The spiritual reading offers a more direct means of apprehending or intuiting the truth of scripture, the latter necessarily accommodating the simplicity of truth to the complex and variously limited capacities of individuals in various historical periods or stations in life.

prophetali, sapientia et racio est tocius fabricate ecclesie nostre christiane. De christo enim Moyses loquutus est; quod eciam Leo papa, gravis
e1v author qui apostolica | gubernacula tenuit, testatus est in quodam sermone de Ieiunio Penthecostes hisce verbis. Dubitandum non est, inquit, dilectissimi omnem observantiam christianam eruditionis esse divine, et quicquid ab ecclesia in consuetudinem est devotione receptum de tradicione apostolica et de sancti spiritus prodire doctrina. Qui nunc quoque cordibus fidelium suis presidet institutis, ut ea omnes et obedienter custodiant et sapienter intelligant. Hec Leo ille primus qui quadringentis et quinquaginta annis post christum in pontificali throno sedit.

De qua illustratione scripturarum non tam verbis quam factis, non tam doctrina et scriptis quam re institucione et iussu apostolorum, scripturus divus Dionysius ad Thimotheum primum eum graviter et multis adiurat ut sacrorum raciones et sancta sanctorum ac mysteria dei divinique cultus non prodat in vulgus nepharie nec communicet nisi cum sanctissimis et sui similibus: memor Iesu nostri illius precepti: Non dabitis sanctum canibus nec margaritas porcis. Sed sancte et sobrie et seclusim custodiat omnia, et in suo mentis archano cum omni amore et reverentia

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7 sancti spiritus] BL, SP sanctispiritus] L sancti Spiritus **14** BL, L raciones] SP racones **16** BL nostri] SP, L christi **17** L margaritas] BL, SP margaritis. The error in BL likely is scribal, resulting from the presence of other datives in the cited text.

founding principle[3] of the whole of our constructed Christian church. For Moses has spoken of Christ; and Pope Leo, a weighty author who held in his grasp apostolic governance, also observed in these words during a certain sermon on fasting at Pentecost: "Most dearly beloved," he says, "it is not to be doubted [that] every Christian observance exists because of divine instruction, and [that] whatever is received devoutly by the church in customary practice proceeds from apostolic tradition and the teaching of the Holy Spirit. Which [Spirit] even now presides over the hearts of the faithful through his principles, with the result that all should obediently keep and wisely understand them." This is what Leo I said, who occupied the pontifical throne 450 years after Christ.[4]

As he prepares to write to Timothy about this enlightening of the scriptures—not so much by words as deeds, not so much by teaching and writing as enacting the thing itself according to the institution and command of the apostles—divine Dionysius first adjures him seriously and repeatedly not to reveal or share impiously the principles of the holy, the holy of holies, the mysteries of God and divine worship to the common people—only to those most holy and similar to him, mindful of that precept of our Jesus: "Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine."[5] But he must guard everything holily,

[3] Ratio. As in other early modern writers, Colet's sense is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so, easily sliding from "reason" to "principle" to "rule" or "system of thought."

[4] See Leo the Great (410–461), Sermon LXXIX, *De jejunio Pentecostes* 2, cited by L 50, n. 2, on the Spirit's guidance of every Christian activity: "Dubitandum non est, dilectissimi, omnem observantiam Christianam eruditionis esse divinae, et quidquid ab Ecclesia in consuetudinem est devotionis receptum, de traditione apostolica et de sancti Spiritus prodire doctrina; qui nunc quoque cordibus fidelium suis praesidet institutis, ut ea omnes et obedienter custodiant et sapienter intelligent." See also on the continuity of the old and new law (central to Chapter 5, below), Leo's Sermon XVII, On the Fast of the Tenth Month, VI: I. "Euangelicis sanctionibus, dilectissimi, multum utilitatis praebet doctrina legalis, cum quaedam de mandato ueteri ad nouam obseruantiam transferuntur, et ex ipsa ecclesiastica deuotione monstratur quod dominus Iesus non uenit legem soluere, sed implere. Cessantibus enim significationibus quibus saluatoris nostri nuntiabatur aduentus, et peractis figuris quas abstulit praesentia ueritatis, ea quae uel ad regulas morum uel ad simplicem dei cultum ratio pietatis instituit, in eadem apud nos forma in qua sunt condita perseuerant, et quae utrique testamento erant congrua, nulla sunt commutatione uariata."

[5] Matt. 7:6. Here and throughout, we cite the Douay-Rheims translation of the Bible, unless noted otherwise. This is the first of Colet's many references to this passage in CEH. Although Dionysius frequently admonishes his audience to protect the holy from the profane in gnostic fashion, he refers to this verse only once in DCH and not at all in DEH (Luibheid 300).

condat colatque religiosissime, imitatus illum Iesum omnis sacerdotii et
e2r sacro | rum authorem, qui suos tantum discipulos et hoc seorsum mysteria docuit, et illos quoque non omnia, qui nondum erant perfecti et spiritales, nec poterant omnia portare.

Idem nunc lux illa ineffabilis in dextra patris et clarius et plenius illucet angelis, naturis longe hominibus purgatioribus, illisque revelat copiosius ac deinde tunc per illos talibus hominibus qui, sevocati et separati a corpore, altius extant, et nature angelice propius accedunt purgati illuminati et perfecti. In quo genere eximius ille erat Ioannes, Zebedei filius, qui revelante angelo in die dominica cernebat multa, que septem ecclesiis descripsit; que, ut recte intelligantur, eodem angelo revelatore sane egent. Que ille scriba dei Apocalipsim vocavit. Per angelos revelacio est hominibus sub honestate figurarum ut capabilior sit homunculis utque homines cognato aliquo et familiari trahantur in melius in lucemque adducantur. Voluit enim spiritus celare prophanos, consulere piis, dignitatem misteriorum servare. Item ipsi homines effinguntur in celestem formam, quoad fieri potest, personis et habitu celesti, ut comediam angelicam agant hic imi-
e2v tenturque | angelos et habitu et actione, ut, fictis quibusdam imaginibus,

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9 erat] BL: a hole in the MS leaves a gap of 2 or 3 characters on this line and the next, after "angelo"; apparently Meghen's copy-text was not affected, the hole presumably pre-dating inscription. **13** ut] SP, L omit text through BL e3v, line 9 (see "agnitio" below) because SP c4 is lacking (Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts," 218).

seriously and privately and treasure it up in his secret recess of the mind with complete love and reverence, and worship it most piously, imitating that Jesus, the author of all the priesthood and of the sacred, who taught only his disciples the rites, and this separately—and not even all to those not yet perfect and spiritual or able to take it all in.

That same ineffable light now at the right hand of the father shines far more clearly and fully on the angels, creatures far more purified than men, and it then discloses [itself] more abundantly to them and subsequently through them to such men who, set apart and cut off from the body—purified, illumined and perfected—stand out more highly, and they come nearer to the angelic nature.[6] Distinguished in that kind was John, the son of Zebedee, who on the Lord's day by means of a disclosing angel saw many things that he wrote down for seven of the churches: which, to be rightly known, surely have need of that revealing angel.[7] And that scribe of God called [what he wrote] the Apocalypse. What is revealed to men through the angels exists under the beauty of figures[8] so that it may be more suitable for weak humanity and so that men may be drawn by something known and near at hand to what is better and attracted to the light. For the spirit wished to conceal from the profane, to have concern for the devout, and to maintain the dignity of holy rites. Likewise, men themselves become representative of heavenly form, so far as that is possible, by the parts they play and by heavenly habit,[9] so that hereupon they may perform in an angelic comedy[10] and imitate the angels both in character and

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[6] Cf. DEH, 1. 1 (PG 3. 372A–B).

[7] Rev 1:4.

[8] Leaf C4 lacking from SP and text therefore omitted in Lupton. See Trapp, "John Colet, His Manuscripts and the Pseudo-Dionysius" 218. DEH 1.2 (PG 3. 373A–B) similarly emphasizes the mediating function of language.

[9] BL: personis et habitu. Colet plays on the senses of "persona" as a theatrical mask or role and of "habitus" as mode of dress and posture, the latter carrying the weight of scholastic use as well.

[10] OED's identification of the medieval use of "comedy" for a narrative poem with an agreeable ending likely stems from the Italian, especially Dante's *Commedia* and other uses related to mystery plays and interludes. Colet employs the figure of human existence as a drama elsewhere, as at CEH 5. 1, below. He may have been familiar with Roman comic drama through Terence, who along with Cicero, Sallust, and Vergil is named in the *Statutes of St. Paul's School* as exemplary of "the olde laten spech and the varay Romayne tong" (Lupton, *Life*, Appendix A, 279); the *Epistola Sancti Petri Apostoli* (Trinity College, Cambridge University MS 0.4.44), questionably attributed to Colet, alludes to a line from Terence's *Heautontimorumenos* (Gleason 338–339); Guarino justifies Jerome's use of Terence's comic poetry because its purpose was to "know and describe human conduct" (cited in "Battista Guarino to Maffeo Gambara of Brescia, His Noble Young Student: A

perinde agant ac illi, saltem quam argute homines possunt, ut assequuti similitudinem rite in corporeis umbris cum mente simul idem sedulo et summa fide agente veritati ipsius lucis christi propiores sint. Hoc volunt sacramenta nostra, que sunt sensibilia simbola, quibus iniciati propiores sint homines veritati.

Quid autem magis congruit et hominis menti et deo novit spiritus christi solus. Iccirco credendum est divino spiritu in sacerdotio nostro instituta esse omnia. Est Iesus gloriosus in celis nostrum caput cuius racio et verbum diffinivit omnia. In quo, quum efficti alludimus ad habitum et actionem angelorum, tunc radius lucis sue, agnoscens piam imitandi voluntatem, illucet nobis, consiliatus et tractus studio nostro similitudinario. In quibus imaginibus quum omnia rite fiant, prompte irrutilat veritas. Frequentanda ergo sunt sacramenta, que graciam conciliant, que sunt medie et oportune raciones quibus veritas nobis christi irradiet, sine quibus inepti sumus ut forma in nobis christi confletur. Sunt enim quasi
e3r antecedentes dispositiones ruditatem nostram in aptitudinem pro-|moventes ut finis eorum et virtus in nobis christi ut forma in dispositis per sacramenta eluceat.

Que illucet et copiosior et clarior quo sacramenta sunt altiora. Sunt enim gradus lucis ut sacramentorum gradus. Habet quodque sacramentum modum lucis sue in quo est promotior ab ordine in ordinem ad maiorem lucem capessendam. Per que sacramenta varii status et ordines sunt in vocatis in christum, ut in constructionem unius corporis varia lux diffundatur ad perfectionem cuiusque pro racione sacramenti sui, ad exemplar angelorum, ad quorum similitudinem per sacramenta disponimur et digerimur et ordine constituimur, ut superne descendens lux christi illuminet et perficiat quemque in suo ordine, ut quem refert hic ordinem ad talem in celis illuc post hanc vitam ipse transferatur, modo rite

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7 divino] BL: small hole in MS allows three letters to show through from the next leaf; apparently, the copy-text was not affected. **21** quo] BL quibus **22** capessendam] BL capescendam **27** quemque] BL quenque

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Program of Teaching and Learning," *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed. Craig W. Kallendorf [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002], 287.23). J.B. Trapp compares Colet's pedagogical ethos with Guarino's and Erasmus's in "From Guarino of Verona to John Colet," *Italy and the English Renaissance*, ed. S. Rossi and D. Savoia (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1989), 45–53. Colet marginally annotates Ficino's letter, *Epistola* 54 (*Nullum in malis refugium est nisi ad summum bonum*): "Human life is a tragedy, for indeed it does perform a play, and it exhibits unhappiness, whether one lives the life of contemplation, action, or pleasure. In fact, they are [all] most wretched …" (Jayne 118). On Colet's emphasis in other marginalia to the "habit" of moral virtue, see Jayne 68.

in action so that, the images having been made, they too may act, at least so far as men are capable, so that having properly risen to the level of a similitude in corporeal shadows together at once with a zealous mind and acting through the strongest faith they may come closer to the truth of Christ's light itself. This is our sacraments' purpose, perceptible symbols[11] by which men, once initiated, may draw closer to the truth.[12]

Nevertheless, the spirit of Christ alone knows what produces greater harmony between the mind of man and God. On that account everything in our priesthood is to be thought of as instituted by the divine spirit. Jesus, glorious in the heavens, whose reason and word has defined everything, is our head. In whom, when we imitate in play, having become fashioned according to the angels' character and action, a ray of his light—perceiving our pious will to imitate, having deliberated and being drawn to our representational enthusiasm—then shines on us.[13] When all is done properly, the truth shines on these images readily. Therefore these sacraments, which give grace, which are the means and fit systems by which Christ's truth may shine upon us [and] without which we are unsuited to have Christ's form set aflame within us, must be celebrated often. For they are as it were antecedent inclinations advancing our coarseness to an aptitude so that their limit and the power of Christ within us may shine forth through the sacraments as a form set in good order.

[That form] shines more abundantly and plainly as the sacraments become more elevated. For there are degrees of light just as [there are] degrees of sacraments. Each sacrament possesses its own measure of light within which [its form] is more fully revealed from one rank to the next, advancing onward to fuller light. And through these sacraments there exist among those called to Christ varied conditions and orders, so that in the formation of a single body a varied light may be diffused for the perfection of any [part] by reason of its sacrament, in accord with the example of the angels, in whose likeness we are by the sacraments disposed and separated and arranged in an order so that Christ's light, descending from above, may illumine and perfect each within its order, so that whatever order he represents here may be transposed after this life to a comparable

[11] Sensibilia simbola; TEH d3^{v}: "visibilibus imaginibus." At this place, neither DEH 1.2 (PG 3. 373B) nor TEH (D4^{r}) explicitly identify the sacraments as media of transmitted divinity.

[12] DEH, 1. 2 (PG 3. 373A–373B).

[13] DEH, 1. 1 (PG 3. 372B).

steterit et egerit ordine suo. Est officium cuiusque et debitum in ecclesia quod pro racione sacramenti lucis et veritatis acceperit in se transfusum a fonte christi, id deinde omne charitate in proximum sibi et inferiorem transfundat, ut membratim profusa lux tandem verificet totam ecclesiam
e3v in christo; qui ipsa est veritas, verificans et iustificans | homines in ipso, infundens suam iusticiam in eos graditum, ut omnes qui iusti sint sint iusti iusticia dei in ipso. Quorum iustorum sunt varii et distincti ordines, in quibus omnibus omnia sunt ad numerum sed non ad perfectionem, uti in angelis in quibus Dionysius testatur omnibus omnia esse, sed aliter atque aliter pro graduum varietate.

Ad quas graduales infusiones lucis et iusticie disponuntur homines et quasi figurantur sacramentis, in quibus est agnitio gradus et devotionis deo, per queque homines constituuntur in alio atque alio esse in christo, ut in ipso aliter atque aliter illuminentur perficianturque illuminati. In quibus omnibus in christo vere una est quodammodo racio et ut loquitur Dionysius intensio, omnesque idem nituntur agere pro viribus gracie. Divisiones enim graciarum sunt multe unus spiritus: unicuique datur manifestacio spiritus ad utilitatem, alius quidem sic alius quidem sic.

Omnium quidem conatus est ut divinis racionibus perficiantur assimilenturque deo quam maxime fieri potest. Quod qui maxime assequitur,

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12 est] SP resumes at this point, c5r; likewise, L **13** BL, L queque] SP quemque

one in the heavens, provided that he has rightly stood firm and acted within his order. It is the duty and obligation of everyone in the church that what one will have received of the light and truth by the principle of the sacrament—what [one] will have received, transfused into himself, of the light and truth from the fount of Christ—he thereafter must pour out in all charity to his neighbor and inferior so that finally the light effused from member to member may establish the entire church in Christ; who is truth itself, establishing and justifying men in himself, pouring his justice on them by degrees so that all who are characterized as just may be just by the justice of God within him.[14] Varied and plainly delineated are the ranks of those who are just—among whom all things exist in all[15] in number but not in perfection, just as among the angels of whom Dionysius attests all exist in all, but in one way and another according to difference in degree.

Men are set in order and as it were formed for these gradated infusions of light and justice by the sacraments, wherein is[16] the apprehension of degree and of devotion to God, [and] by which men are established in one kind or another of being in Christ, so that in him they in one way or another may be illumined, and illumined may be perfected. Among all those in Christ there exist in a certain way one system and, as Dionysius says, one striving, and all strive to do the same thing according to the power of grace.[17] For "there are diversities of graces, but one Spirit": "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man unto profit," "one after this manner, and another after that."[18]

Indeed the aim of all is to be perfected by divine principles and assimilated to God to the greatest possible extent.[19] He who attains this to the

[14] In CEH are two organizing analogies whose overlap becomes one of Colet's recurring themes: the Pauline mystical body and the graduated ranks of Dionysius's emanated hierarchies: see CCC 12. 250–252. On the varied significances of the mystical body in reference to the hierarchic structure of the church, see Yves Congar, *L'Eglise de saint Augustin à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1970), pp. 25–31; on the body and group consciousness, see Hannah Chapelle Wocjiehowski, *Group Identity in the Renaissance World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 1–30.

[15] 1 Cor 12:6: "et divisiones operationum sunt idem vero Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus"; cf. 1 Cor 15:28, Eph 1:23.

[16] SPS and L resume here; see n. 9 above.

[17] DEH, 1. 2 (PG 3. 372B–373B).

[18] 1 Cor 12:4: "divisiones vero gratiarum sunt idem autem Spiritus"; 1 Cor 12:7: "unicuique autem datur manifestatio Spiritus ad utilitatem"; 1 Cor 7:7: "unusquisque proprium habet donum ex Deo alius quidem sic alius vero sic." DEH, 1. 2 (PG 3. 373B).

[19] DEH, 1. 3 (PG 3. 376A).

is pontifex est et iure primum locum tenet ministerii, deinceps ut quod
e4r acceperit transfundat. Qui | quo maior est, eo inserviat pluribus charitatis officio et ministrandi. Tum secundo id peragunt et accepta transfundunt in tercios qui secundi sunt. Atque ita deinde pergit procedit verificatio hominum in christo omnibus sursum contendentibus et quod superne exhauserint tradentibus inferioribus ut desiderio et amore dei et proximi in christo perfecta membra sint, amore quidem dei accipientes, amore eciam proximi dantes, ut utrinque amore efficti iusti ministri sint divine gracie a quo sunt omnia in christo, in quo tam promptus debet esse quisque ut det omnia quod acceperit, ut videatur accepisse ob nullam aliam causam nisi ut daret, ut in datione declaretur acceptio et in amore proximi amor dei; quem tunc declaramus nos amare ut Ioannes docet in epistola si proximum amemus: Si quis dixerit quod diligit deum et fratrem suum odit mendax est.

In hac vicissitudinaria charitate est ordo munus et officium in ecclesia, ac in ea tota ecclesiastica hierarchia consistit in amore dei et proximi, in

4 BL verificatio] SP verificacio] L ve[ri]ficacio **15** L vicissitudinaria] BL, SP vicicitudinaria **16** SP, L ecclesiastica] BL Ecclesiastica

highest degree is the pontifex,[20] and he holds the first place in the ministry by right, in order that he may pour what he has received from one vessel to another in succession. In the office of charity and ministration, the greater he is the more [people] he should serve. Then, secondly, those who are second continue this and transfer what has been received to the third. And so it goes thereafter, the making of true men in Christ proceeds so that in Christ they may be members perfected by a longing and love for God and neighbor, with all striving upwards and handing down what they have drawn above to those below—through love for God receiving, through love for neighbor giving—with the result that on both sides the just formed by love should be ministers of God's grace, from whom all things exist in Christ, in whom each ought to be so disposed that he would give away all he has received so that he may appear to have received for no other reason than to give, so that in the giving may be disclosed the receiving and in the love of neighbor, love of God; whom we then declare we love (as John teaches in the Epistle) if we love [our] neighbor: "if any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother; he is a liar."[21]

Order, duty, and office in the church exist in this mutual love, and within it the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy consists of the love of God

[20] DEH, 1. 3 (PG 3. 373C). The first of many places where Colet employs Dionysius to identify the ideal characteristics and duties of the bishop, whom he ordinarily identifies with Dionysius's "hierarch." Colet sometimes uses "pontifex" interchangeably with "episcopus" as a means of referring to Dionysius's "hierarch." When discussing liturgical procedures derived from Dionysius, Colet often uses "pontifex" in a general sense as "officiating minister of sacraments" distinct from the more bureaucractic "episcopus" and the less elevated "sacerdos." Colet once uses "pontifex" in its ecclesiological sense of "pontifex maximus" or "pontiff" (see below, CEH 7. 3). It may convey the high priest under the old law, figured by Aaron as a type of Christ and leader of the order of Melchisedech, as named in the epistle to the Hebrews, 5:1–7: "omnis namque pontifex ex hominibus adsumptus pro hominibus constituitur in his quae sunt ad Deum ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro peccatis qui condolere possit his qui ignorant et errant quoniam et ipse circumdatus est infirmitate et propter eam debet quemadmodum et pro populo ita etiam pro semet ipso offerre pro peccatis nec quisquam sumit sibi honorem sed qui vocatur a Deo tamquam Aaron sic et Christus non semet ipsum clarificavit ut pontifex fieret sed qui locutus est ad eum Filius meus es tu ego hodie genui te quemadmodum et in alio dicit tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech qui in diebus carnis suae preces supplicationesque ad eum qui possit salvum illum a morte facere cum clamore valido et lacrimis offerens et exauditus pro sua reverentia." Cf. Lev 16:17, 21:10. Colet represents the pontifex as an idealized bishop set apart from the more practical implications of the episcopal bishop (see below, 3.2). To convey this distinction, this edition retains Colet's "pontifex" wherever it appears.

[21] 1Jn 4:20: "si quis dixerit quoniam diligo Deum et fratrem suum oderit mendax est."

accepto et dato, in imitacione Iesu capitis, qui ipsa est charitas, in studio
e4v cuiusque sanctificandi se charita-|tis igne, ut deinde santificet, ut sanctificandi officio tota ecclesia imitetur Iesum, ut ei aliquando omnino similes fiant ut scribit Iohannes: Omnes qui habent hanc spem in eo sanctificet se sicut ille sanctus est. Et idem ait: Qui dicit se in illo manere debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare. Ille Iesus in hac ecclesiastica chorea incepit tripudium, ut omnes sertim manibus eum iunctis sequantur. Ille erat plenitudo iusticie ut omnes in illo ipsius iusticiam coimitentur, que consistit in datione ex amore quod ex amore acceperis. Quid enim aliud est in angelis perfectionis quam datio accepti? In qua datione magis referunt deum quam acceptione. Nam in acceptione perfectio nulla est. Deus enim nihil accipit. Dat autem deus maxime et datione refertur maxime. Quapropter Paulus dicit beatius esse dare quam accipere. [Sumus] in christo itaque in quo sunt omnia, qui racio est summa et diffinitio ordinis et hierarchie nostre, qui nihil accipit a nobis, qui dat omnia, qui instituit nos in cursu veritatis, qui extulit nos super legem moysaicam in lucem evangelii et revelationis, qui fide fecit nos sapere et ex fide agere, qui spiritu
e5r suo produx-|it nos in melius ut lege spiritus beatissimos illos spiritus recte imitemur in cuius virtute incipimus esse spiritales, ut perfecti aliquando spiritus simus: quorum supra celestem vitam beatissimam quia conamur referre ideo Paulus dixit nostram conversationem esse in celis.

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4 BL, SP sanctificet] L sanctificant **9** BL, SP ex] L et **11** SP, L acceptione] BL acceptionem **12** BL, L refertur] SP refertim **14** L qui] BL que] SP qua **15** BL, SP accipit] L accepit **17** BL, L agere] SP actore

and neighbor,[22] in [love] received and given, in imitating Jesus [its] head, who is charity itself, [and] in each person's pursuit of sanctifying the self in the fire of charity so that in turn he may sanctify [others], so that the entire church may imitate Jesus in the office of sanctifying, so that at last [the members] might become entirely similar to him, as John writes: "And every one that hath this hope in him, sanctifieth himself, as he also is holy."[23] And likewise he writes: "He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also to walk, even as he walked."[24] Jesus himself has begun the tripudium[25] in this ecclesiastical dance so that all may follow with linked hands.[26] He was the fullness of justice so that in him all may imitate in a single unity his justice, which consists in giving from love what you have received from love. For among the angels what is perfection other than giving what has been received? In that giving they represent God more than in receiving, for in receiving there is no perfection. For God receives nothing. Rather, God gives in the highest degree and in giving is represented in the highest degree. Accordingly Paul says it is more blessed to give than to receive.[27] [We exist] in Christ, therefore, in whom all things exist, who as logos is the highest principle and the limit of order and our hierarchy, who receives nothing from us, who gives all, who sets us on the course of truth, who has raised us above the Mosaic law into the light of the gospels and revelation, who has created us to be wise in faith and to act out of faith, [and] who has advanced us to what is better by his spirit so that we may imitate properly those spirits most blessed by the law of the spirit in whose power we begin to become spiritual, so that once perfected we may be spirits. And because we strive to represent their most blessed heavenly life above, Paul has therefore said "our citizenship is in heaven."[28]

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[22] Cf. DEH, 1. 3 (PG 3. 376A).

[23] 1Jn 3:3: "et omnis qui habet spem hanc in eo sanctificat se sicut et ille sanctus est."

[24] 1Jn 2:6: "qui dicit se in ipso manere debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare."

[25] A triple-time Roman dance performed by worshippers of Cybele, mentioned by Catullus (63.26). Livy cites the dance as a celebration of the Carthaginians' slaying of Gracchus (*Ab urbe condita libri* 25.17.5).

[26] Sertim, sic. sertum>sero. Colet elsewhere uses the figure of the dance to describe Christ's influence on the post-Mosaic church, which flows more immediately from God's countenance and the angelic trinities: "quasi choream instituit et tripudium luculentius" (CCH 2. 170–171).

[27] Acts 20:35: "meminisse verbi Domini Iesu quoniam ipse dixit beatius est magis dare quam accipere."

[28] Phil 3:20: "nostra autem conversatio in caelis est unde etiam salvatorem expectamus Dominum Iesum Christum." *Conversatio* translates the Gk *politeuma*, introducing the heavenly Jerusalem and suggesting Augustine's *De civitatis Dei*. Cf. CCC 13, on Christ as the limit of the human hierarchy and leader of the society of Christian citizens.

In hoc tamen bene felici statu in Iesu christo quia adhuc omnes sumus homines visibiles, certe natura hec nostra nova, vires et actiones substratis quibusdam sensibilibus signis et indicantur utiliter et firmantur, ut monimenta sint nobis et invitamenta ad ea que non videntur. Nam quamdiu nos imaginarii sumus et per speculum videmus in enigmate nulla nostra institutio effictio formatio actio imitatioque spirituum carere corporalibus imaginibus potest. Nam quamdiu nos corporei sumus oportet sacramenta nostra et ecclesiastica nostra racio sit nonnihil corporea. Sub Moyse legalis hierarchia erat tota corporea et imaginaria; sub christo in quo nunc imitamur veritatem spirituum constituta est ecclesiastica hierarchia partim corporea partim spiritalis. In triumphanti vero illa hierarchia tota erit spiritalis quando animalia nostra corpo-|ra tota erunt translata in corpora spiritalia. Ex his tunc illicibus gracie et signaculis erumpemus in faciem et veritatem, ut cum angelis tunc veri nos [erimus] et vere: veritatem ipsam facie ad faciem videamus.

e5v

Omnes ad unum contendere debent et in formam illius quoad maxime possunt. Unum vero ecclesie nostre est Iesus et bravium quo currimus omnes ut eum totum comprehendamus, quem quisque in se referre debet et olere et sapere ipsum, tametsi non omnes eodem modo et equaliter certe sed quisque quatenus potest et datum est. Unicuique sicut deus divisit mensuram fidei et quisque ut arbitratur se posse nitatur referre id quod caput est et unum. Quod totum et si non referat in summo gradu, referat tamen totum gradu quam alto potest ne videatur nolle quantum

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4 BL monimenta] SP, L monumenta **9** BL, L Moyse] SP moyse **14** SP, L vere] BL vera **17** L: omits "et" **20** SP: "quatenus" added as superscript **20** BL, SP et datum est. unicuique sicut …] L phrases as "et datum est unicuique, sicut …" **22** BL, SP et si] L etsi **23** BL, L alto] SP alte

Nevertheless, in this extremely happy condition in Jesus Christ, since we are all still men in this visible realm, surely our [spiritual] nature is still new. Its powers and actions are to good purpose made known and confirmed through certain supportive, sensate signs, so that there may be for us reminders of and allurements to all that remain unseen. For so long as we exist in a realm of images and "see … through a glass darkly,"[29] our education, fashioning, formation, action, and imitation of spirits cannot do without corporeal images. For so long as we are in the flesh, our sacraments and our ecclesiastical order must be corporeal in some way. Under Moses' hierarchy of the law everything was corporeal and figurative; under Christ, in whom we now imitate the truth of spirits, the ecclesiastical hierarchy—partly corporeal, partly spiritual—has been established. All will become spiritual in the triumphant hierarchy, when all our animal bodies will be transformed to spiritual bodies.[30] From these allurements and signs of grace and signs we will burst out to the face [of God] and truth, with the result that along with the angels then we [will be] true, and truly we may see truth itself, face to face.

All are bound to strive for one aim and, as much as possible, to direct themselves toward its form.[31] The one aim of our church and the prize that we all run to embrace completely is Jesus, whom each ought to represent in himself, gain a smell of and taste of,[32] though certainly not all equally and in the same manner but insofar as it is given to and possible for each.[33] "As God hath divided to every one the measure of faith,"[34] so each strives as he thinks he can to return it to the head and the unity. Yet even if [one] cannot return the entire amount in the highest degree, one nevertheless must return it as much as he can lest he seem unwilling to achieve as much

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[29] 1 Cor 13:12: "videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate tunc autem facie ad faciem nunc cognosco ex parte tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum."

[30] By *animalia corpora*, Colet refers to bodies enlivened by a soul (*anima*), in contrast to his distinction among three spirits (natural, vital, and animal) of Galenic medicine mentioned below, in Chapter 6.1. See also *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici*, 189–191.

[31] Cf. DEH, 1.3 (PG 3. 376A). Here and below, see 1 Cor 9:24: "nescitis quod hii qui in stadio currunt omnes quidem currunt sed unus accipit bravium sic currite ut conprehendatis." See also Phil 3:14.

[32] Colet's word for "taste" (*sapere*) mediates between the concrete sensation of smell (*olere*) and wisdom, the latter found also in Rom 12:3, cited below.

[33] "Bravium" is the Vulgate corruption of the Greek for "umpire" (βραβευτής, Latin "brabeuta"), OLD. For Colet, Jesus is both prize and judge.

[34] Rom 12:3: "dico enim per gratiam quae data est mihi omnibus qui sunt inter vos non plus sapere quam oportet sapere sed sapere ad sobrietatem unicuique sicut Deus divisit mensuram fidei."

potest et ita abuti gracia sua, que data est cuique ad manifestacionem spiritus, neve videatur sponte languere: quum valere potest; cuiusmodi voluntaria egrotacio damnabilis est. Oblitterat enim imaginem nepharie qui non representat id quatenus percutitur. Siquidem omnes sumus ad
e6r unum sigillum signati et unius regis character quasi nummisma | illius accepimus, ut unum unde pendeant omnia referamus: pro racione cuius signi et impressionis agendum est. In quo illo primo uno, qui est Iesus christus in quo consignati sumus figura et charactere ipsius ut Iesuite simus, in ipso consignamur illi in sacerdotium consecrati in illo ut deo in ipso sacerdotes simus, ut sacrificemus nos deo in illo offeramusque hostiam sanctam sicuti ille obtulit qui pro nobis, ut scribit Petrus, mortuus erat ut nos sequamur vestigia illius. In quo si sumus, ut Iohannes testatur, debemus sicut ille ambulavit et nos ambulare holocaustum in christo deo: quisque se prebeat: ut totus ardeat charitate in ara patibuli. In hoc cognoscimus charitatem dei, quoniam ille animam suam pro nobis posuit, et nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere.

Sed iam de ecclesiastica hierarchia disseramus.

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12 BL, SP illius] L ejus

as he can and so to have squandered his grace, which has been given to each "as a manifestation of the spirit";[35] nor lest one who can be strong be seen willingly weak; this sort of willful weakness is damnable. For he who does not represent the image in the degree to which he has been stamped impiously blots it out. Since we are all impressed with one seal and have received the character of one king—his coinage as it were—so we should represent the one upon whom all depend,[36] according to whose seal and its impression we must act. Wherein by that first one, who is Jesus Christ, in whom we are together sealed through his image and character so that in him we may be "Jesuits,"[37] we are together sealed in a priesthood of those consecrated to him so that through God in him we may become priests, so that we may sacrifice ourselves to God in him and offer a holy sacrifice as he offered who was killed for us that we may follow in his footsteps, as Peter writes.[38] If we would be in him, as John witnesses, we ought "also to walk, even as he walked."[39] In Christ everyone may offer himself to God as a holocaust so that all may burn with charity on the altar of the cross. "In this we know the charity" of God, "because he hath laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."[40]

But now let us speak of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

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[35] 1Cor 12:7: "unicuique autem datur manifestatio Spiritus ad utilitatem."

[36] Colet alludes to the Biblical metaphors for impression (*signati*) of coins with a seal (*sigillum*) in Eph 1:13, 4:30 and Rev 6:3–6:12, 8.1. Colet's use of the Greek word "character" for "stamp" carries the word's Latin sense of an identifying brand or mark. On the significance of this metaphor as an effort to describe Christ incarnate (and, proportionately, his imitators) as the "exacta atque expressa imago et figura" of God's substance and its relation to biblical tradition, see CCC 308–309 n. 28. Dionysus uses the Platonic *sphragis* or "seal" as the imprint of the forms on the soul to describe the effects of the sacrament on the soul: see note 132 below (Wear and Dillon, citing DEH 2.3 3–3 [PG 3. 400A–D] and 4. 3. 1 [PG 3. 476A]).

[37] Jesuitae>Jesuita. Latham lists c. 1500 as the earliest use, but Lupton notes a reference to *Jesuates*, an order founded by John Colombini in 1368 (53, n. 1). Colet's image of the seal allows for a potentially uniform "priesthood of all believers" (Peter Iver Kaufman, "*The Polytique Churche*" 70–74), yet the varied response of humanity to God's call yields distinctions within the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy.

[38] 1Pet 2:21: "in hoc enim vocati estis quia et Christus passus est pro vobis vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius."

[39] 1Jn 2:6: "qui dicit se in ipso manere debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare."

[40] 1Jn 3:16: "in hoc cognovimus caritatem quoniam ille pro nobis animam suam posuit et nos debemus pro fratribus animas ponere."

[O]mnis hierarchia sacrorum racio et comprehensio est. In christiana hie-
e6v rarchia pontificale munus et officium | est ut in se sacra contineat omnia omniaque possideat. Est enim pontifex ipsum sacramentum ipsaque in se comprehensio omnium que deinceps in ecclesia sequuntur, qui scit et refert plene et clare totum in se sacerdotium ut non sit in quoquam inferiori, quod a deo datum est quod non in ipso pontifice et solidius et clarius, idem et modo sit eciam perfectiore, quum per ipsum in omnes ecclesie ordines omnia spiritalia et divina transfundi debeant; a quo non proficiscatur quippiam in ecclesia quod non in pontifice prius contineatur; nec extet in quoquam sub pontifice quod sit laudabile et divinum: quod ab illo non agnoscatur profectum. Qui quidem si careat quod in quopiam est inferiori quod a deo procedit, cuiusmodi est sanctitas sapientia iusticia, is profecto non est ille qui pontificalem sedem occupet.

Hierarchie nostre creator et conditor idem est ille unus omnipotentissimus Iesus. Pater per illum cum spiritu sancto adoranda illa trinitas pro bonitate sua causa est certe ut sit hec hierarchia humana militans sub duce christo sub vexillo veritatis spiritalibus armis; et eciam ut bene
e7r et perfecte sit. Voluit enim bonus deus salvetur ho-|mo; quod quidem esse non potest certe nisi homines deificentur reformenturque in divinum statum diique fiant assimilati deo ut deum referant. Illuc enim in finem enixe et impensissime tendunt omnia: ut in divinam formam effigiantur. Ad eum finem omnes vocati in christum deo consecrantur, ut hic dum vivant deum referant quatenus possunt. Quatenus autem homines possunt Iesus deus et homo docuit, qui voluit homo fieri ut divinam in hominibus vivendi formam demonstret.

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6 BL, SP ipso] L christo **7** BL, SP quum] L quin **18** SP: “salvetur” repeated and struck

Every hierarchy is a system and a comprehensive statement of the holy.[41] In the Christian hierarchy the pontifical duty and office is to contain and possess everything sacred within itself. For the pontifex is indeed a sacrament and the very epitome in himself of all things within the church that follow in succession, and in himself he has knowledge of and represents the entire priesthood fully and clearly, so that there is not in anyone of lower rank what has been given by God that is not in the pontifex himself both more solidly and more clearly and that same thing in an even more perfect way, since everything spiritual and divine is bound to be poured through him to all the orders of the church; and since nothing originates within the church that the pontifex does not contain beforehand; and since nothing that is praiseworthy and divine exists in anyone below the pontifex, which is not known to have proceeded from him. Indeed if he should be lacking in that which proceeds from God and which exists in someone of lower rank—such a kind as holiness, wisdom, justice—he surely is not the man to sit on the pontifical throne.

The creator and founder of our hierarchy is that same one, the most all-powerful Jesus. Through him the Father with the Holy Spirit, that most reverend Trinity, is without doubt by its goodness the cause that this human hierarchy exists, fighting under Christ as general, beneath the banner of truth, with spiritual arms, and even that it exists with goodness and perfection.[42] For a good God wanted mankind to be saved; yet this surely cannot be unless men become gods,[43] re-formed into the divine condition of the holy and assimilated to God, made godlike insofar as they may represent God. For all things direct their course eagerly and forcefully to this end: that they be shaped according to divine form. To that end all [who are] called into Christ are consecrated to God, so that, while they live here, they may represent God as much as they can. How far men are able Jesus, God and man, has shown, who wished to become a man so that he might reveal to men the divine form of living.

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[41] Cf. the formulation in DEH, 1. 3 (3. 373C): "every hierarchy is the complete expression of the sacred elements comprised within it" (Luibheid tr. 197). TEH 22[r]: "Est itaque hierarchia omnis (ut se habet veneranda ac sacrosancta nostra traditio) omnis sacrarum rerum illi quidem subiectarum ratio generalisque prorsus eorum que in hanc ferme cadunt functionem sive sacrarum eius rerum comprehensio."

[42] Cf. DEH, 1 (PG 3. 373C–373D). Colet gives Christ greater emphasis as founder of the human hierarchy than is found in DEH.

[43] Colet uses *deificentur* (>deifico, cf. Cassiodorus, *Hist. Eccl.* 7, 2; Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 19, 23, 4). Cf. DEH, 1. 3–4 (PG 3. 376A–376B) on "divinization," i.e., "being as much as possible like and in union with God" (Luibheid tr. 198).

Ad cuius similitudinem omnes in eo contendere debent. Nam qui dicit se in eo manere debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare. Ille caput est et celestis hierarchie et humane, in quo habuit terra quod imitetur, et nunc in celo habent angeli quoque quod imitentur; cuius amore ardere quisque debet, ut in illum latus, nihil aliud spectet quam ipsum, in nullam aliam partem vertat oculos, nihil omnino retrospiciat. Sed ut scribit Paulus de seipso ad Phillippenses, Que retro sunt obliviscens ad ea que sunt priora extendens se ac persequens ad destinatum bravium superne vocationis in
e7v christo Iesu; ut imitando illum, eundem lucretur, configuratus mor-|ti eius, ut resurgens illi glorioso configuretur; ut tandem moriens comprehendat in quo comprehensus est a Iesu in illum; ut in unicam racionem sue perfectionis manibus pedibusque ferantur omnes qui sunt in ipso; ut formati ab ipso referant ipsum eo quo meliori gradu possunt, alti assidue nutriti refecti et recreati ipso quotidie translati a claritate in claritatem donec penitus transformentur in ipsum. In illum inquam ferantur avide charitate flagrantes: ut in ipso quasi holocausta et incensa bene redolentia deo charitatis igne libentur et sacrificentur. Fuga autem sit ab his inferioribus tam acris et solicita ut semper a tergo hostes et mortem sibi instare putet. Veritatem signi quo se dirigit et semper summum sibi proponat; assurgat accurrat advolet in ipsum; apprehendat, deglutiat, alatur ipso et in ipsum christum in deo penitus transferatur. Hec salutaris contentio debet esse sane cuiusque in ecclesia, ut in omnibus omnes appareant resonent oleant sapiant et agant christum.

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5 BL spectet] SP, L aspectat **6** retrospiciat] SP repeats the phrase "cuius amore ardere quisque debet" and reorders the clauses in this sentence; L matches BL, curiously since no evidence suggests L consulted BL **10** resurgens] SP: gap of about about two spaces **15** transformentur] BL: "trans-" inserted as superscript, apparently in Colet's hand **19** BL, L proponat] SP ponat

All in him should strive to attain his likeness.[44] For one who says that he abides in him ought to walk just as he has walked.[45] He is head of both the celestial and human hierarchies, wherein the earth has had something to imitate and now the angels also have something to imitate in heaven; and in his love each should burn so that, raised to him, one may look on nothing other than him, one may turn one's gaze to no other part, nor ever look back. Rather, as Paul writes of himself to the Philippians, forgetting those things which are behind, extending himself to those things which are ahead and pressing on to the appointed "prize of the supernal vocation" in Christ Jesus;[46] so that one may gain him by imitating him, "being made conformable to his death;" that, rising, one may be formed by that glorious [one];[47] that, dying, one may at last take possession of [it] since he was taken possession of[48] by Jesus to him; that all who are in him be brought by [their] hands and feet to that single principle of his perfection; that, formed by him, they may represent him to the highest degree they can, constantly fed, nourished, refreshed, and reborn by him, they may be daily conveyed "from glory to glory" until they may be completely transformed to him.[49] To him, I say, let them be brought, burning fervently with charity, so that in him as whole burnt offerings and pleasingly fragrant incenses they may be offered and sacrificed to God by the fire of charity. Moreover, let the flight from those inferior things be so keen and anxious that he thinks that the enemy and death are always threatening him from behind. The truth of the sign to which he directs himself, the highest thing, he should always place before him; to it he should rise, run, and fly; he should seize [it], gulp [it] down, be nourished by it, and transported wholly to Christ himself in God. This salutary striving should surely be for everyone in the church so that all may appear, echo, smell of, taste of and enact Christ in all things.

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[44] Cf. DEH, 1. 4 (PG 3. 376B).

[45] 1Jn: 2.6.

[46] Phil 3:13–14: "fratres ego me non arbitror conprehendisse unum autem quae quidem retro sunt obliviscens ad ea vero quae sunt in priora extendens me / ad destinatum persequor ad bravium supernae vocationis Dei in Christo Iesu."

[47] Phil 3:10–11: "ad agnoscendum illum et virtutem resurrectionis eius et societatem passionum illius configuratus morti eius / si quo modo occurram ad resurrectionem quae est ex mortuis."

[48] Phil 3:12.

[49] 2Cor 13:8: "nos vero omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes in eandem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem tamquam a Domini Spiritu."

Deus deificat se impartiens angelis directe et simpliciter hominibus indirecte et multiplici racione simulachrorum, quibus sacra scriptura
e8r plena est. Quam vocat Dionysius substantiam | sacerdotii nostri, vetus testamentum maxime; cui adiectum novum, conscriptum ab evangelistis et apostolis, talibus similitudinibus non caret. Qui libri tempore Dionysii authoritate tunc prime ecclesie in sanctis et canonicis scriptis relati fuerint et omni reverentia approbati. His accessit secretior quedam racio sapientie non mandata literis ab apostolis, sed animis et pectoribus eorum sancte et religiose servata. Que illi didicerunt a Iesu christo digni, qui deinceps non nisi dignis et similibus sui tradiderunt, adiurantes eos ut litteris non commendant ea ne divina vilescant et sancta dentur canibus ac porcis margarite. Sublimitas mentis Iohannis quod in illo genere cernebat ita adumbravit suis figuris, ut nemo fere intelligat nisi ipse nisi eodem prophetali spiritu agitetur. Institutiones eciam celebrate in ecclesia et ab ipsis apostolis usque ad nos dirivate non erant ab illis tradite literis sed actionibus plebeiorum commendate. Quarum raciones tenuerunt solum primarii homines in ecclesia: quas non indicaverunt quidem nisi illis quos
e8v agnoverunt purgatiores et ad pontificalem dignitatem pro-|motos, qui illi nudas rerum raciones et sacramentorum intellexerunt.

Consilio apostolorum factum fuit ut eadem quadam racione imaginaria plebeiis propinarentur, ut rudes bibant et alantur crassiori. Nam ut ait Paulus non in omnibus est scientia. Sanctus panis salvatoris testimonio non est dandus canibus. Ex semela sinceritatis panis sacerdotum tantum conficitur. Quo autem pascantur plebeii, oportet aliquid furferis habeat imaginum et simulachrorum, ne ipsa veritate vel nimium perstringantur oculi eorum vel illi in vanas cogitaciones concitentur. Hinc sacramenta

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1 angelis] BL superscript "i" above the uncanceled "o" of "angelos," suggesting a correction] SP has an "o" blotted in and dotted as a correction] L angelis **1** L hominibus] BL: superscript "i" above the uncanceled "e" of "homines"] SP hominis **3** BL: "est" inserted as superscript **8** sapientie] SP: "sapiente" inserted as superscript **8** L mandata literis] BL mandata litteris] SP mandita literis

God deifies, imparting himself directly and simply to the angels, to men indirectly and by means of a complex system of figures with which sacred scripture is full.[50] That [scripture] Dionysius calls the substance of our priesthood, and the New written by the evangelists and apostles, which has been added to the Old, also contains similar analogies. In the time of Dionysius, by the authority of the early church then, these books had been recorded among the holy and canonic scriptures and approved with due reverence. To them were added a more secret system of wisdom, not recorded by the apostles in writing but observed holily and piously in their souls and hearts.[51] These things they learned from Jesus Christ, as worthy men, and they did not hand them on except to those worthy and similar to them, swearing them not to commit them to writing lest the divine be held cheap, the holy be given to dogs and pearls to swine. The loftiness of John's mind has so shadowed by its figures what he perceived in that kind that almost no one other than himself can understand [them] unless moved by the same prophetic spirit. Even institutions frequently practiced in the church and brought down from the very apostles to us were passed down by [the apostles], not in writing but commended to the performance of the people. Those principles only the leading men in the church possessed, and they made them known to none save those whom they recognized as more purified and advanced to pontifical dignity, those who understood the naked principles of things and sacraments.

Through the deliberation of the apostles it was established that the same drink be passed among the people by a certain set of images[52] [i.e., the sacraments] so that the unrefined might drink of and be nourished by coarser fare. For, as Paul has it, "there is not the knowledge in every one."[53] In the savior's testimony, holy bread is not to be given to dogs.[54] The bread of priests is made from only the refined wheat flour of integrity. On what the people feed, however, there ought to be some amount of the bran of images and figures, lest their eyes should either be very much dulled by truth itself or incited to vain thoughts. From this, sacraments

[50] DEH, 1. 4 (PG 3. 376B).

[51] DEH, 1. 4 (PG 3. 376C).

[52] Imaginaria: see 5.1 below. CCC 10. 216, 218 similarly dwells on sustenance at the table of Christ, centered on the covered and open dishes of the Old and New Testaments, but sets it specifically in contrast to the damnable books of pagans.

[53] 1 Cor 8:7: "sed non in omnibus est scientia."

[54] Matt 7:6.

et ceremonie vel expiantes vel illuminantes vel perficientes ab ipsis apostolis optima racione et pulcherrimis simulachris descripta plebeiis sunt instituta. Raciones autem eorum non literis sed sanctorum pontificum mentibus commendate et retente fuerint, ut sicut in plebe signa succedant ita in mentibus pontificum succedant raciones. Quas eruere tandem plurimos post annos conatus est Gulielmus Minatensis episcopus; in quo studio vaticinatur et divinat ut potest, non aliter atque illi qui dicunt quid fir Ioannis Apocalipsim significat. In omnibus eiusmodi vel | scriptis tanta crassitate signorum vel mori et usui commendatis opus est aut revelatore cui revelatum fuit, aut spiritu prophetali eodem a quo instituta fuerint, ut is indicet. Alioquin humana acies hebescat necesse est. Sed quecunque sunt in ecclesia in celebri usu divinarum racionum simbola et signacula ea ab apostolis instituta fuisse credendum est, quarum raciones docti a deo ipsi tenuerunt. Et (ut verbis Dionysii utar) visibilibus signis celestia sacramenta texerunt, locantes apud rudiores simplex in multiplici spiritalia in corporalibus divina in humanis remota in propinquis extranea in familiaribus, de quibus quum parum scripserunt in principio maximam partem memoriis hominum commendarunt. Nam ut profecti sunt evangelizantes et nunciantes christum, quos nacti sunt et invenerunt credere voluisse,

1 illuminantes] BL, L vel illuminates] SP et illuminante **2** BL, L pulcherrimis] SP pulchrimis **3** SP, L sanctorum] BL sanctiorum **12** BL, L celebri] SP celebra **14** BL, SP ipsi] L ipso

and ceremonies, expiating, illuminating, or perfecting, were instituted for the people by the apostles, with the best spiritual sense also described by the most beautiful figures. Their principles, however, have been committed to and retained not in writing but in the minds of the holy pontifices, so that just as signs should come among the people so the principles succeed in the minds of pontifices.[55] After these many years, Bishop William of Mende has undertaken to bring these [principles] to light; in which effort he prophesies and divines as he can, just as those do who interpret the Apocalypse of John.[56] In all things of this sort—either written with such density of signs or commended by custom and usage—there is need of either a revealer to whom it has been revealed [in turn], or the same prophetical spirit by whom [the sacraments and ceremonies] had been established so [that spirit] might disclose them. Otherwise human insight must of necessity lose its edge. But it is to be believed that the apostles instituted whatever symbols and signs of divine principles are used widely in the church—which principles the very men who were taught by God did keep. And (to use Dionysius' words) they concealed celestial sacraments under visible signs, placing with the very uneducated the simple in the complex, the spiritual in the corporeal, the divine in the human, what is remote in what is near to hand, the strange in the familiar,[57] and whenever they wrote little about these things in the beginning they committed the greatest portion to the memory of men. For as they set out evangelizing and proclaiming Christ, those whom they encountered and

[55] DEH, 1. 4 (PG 3. 376C).

[56] L, p. 57, n. 2, identifies Minatensis as William Durandus (b. c. 1230, d. 1 November 1296; bishop of Mende after 1287). His *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (in two redactions, c. 1292 and 1296) was the second nonbiblical book printed by Gutenberg's press in Mainz, Germany (1459); it exists in hundreds of manuscripts and was republished 104 times to 1859. In the Prologue, Durandus explains his act of unveiling mysteries of the ecclesia and compares himself to Moses: "Here the celestial model that was shown to Moses on the mountaintop will be revealed to me [cf. Ex 20], so that I can unveil and explain clearly and openly each object or ornament that belongs to the ecclesiastical services, what each of these signifies or represents figuratively, and set forth their rationale, according to that which has been revealed by [God]" (tr. Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiourm of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* [New York: Columbia UP, 2007], 1). With Anselm Davril, O.S.B., Thibodeau edited the Latin text of the *Rationale* for *Corpus Christanorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis* (1995–2000): see in this edition (Turnholt: Brepols, 1995) I. Prohemium 3–4. Durand applies fourfold exegetical principles to interpret comprehensively the church building, ecclesiastical artefacts, the liturgy, and sacraments.

[57] DEH, 1. 5 (PG 3. 376D).

ulteriori doctrina quatenus visum erat effingentes eos, digesserunt ordine, prepositis ecclesie illi presbiteris senioribusque quibus iuniores obediant, relictis eciam observationibus quibusdam sacramentalibus in verbis et signis congruis; que essent populo quedam quasi sustentacula et admi-
f1v nicula et | oportuna monimenta altioris et simplicioris veritatis, quibus vulgus christianum contineatur in religione et religio a prophanis tutaretur. Pontifices autem in ipsam lucem tracti sunt qui signorum veritates tenent; plebs vero coloratur christiana; Iudaica autem illa adumbrabatur.

In christiana religione pontifex Dionysius calluit mysteria sacramentorum. Que scripturus ad Timotheum, adiurat eum ut ea non communicet nisi sanctis et similibus sui doctis et bonis viris pontificiis ea lege, ut illi quoque non nisi talibus communicent ne sancta contra preceptum evangelicum dentur canibus et porcis margarite.

[II.1]

[N]ihil vult aliud nostra christianitas, nisi ut deo assimulemur. Estote perfecti inquit salvator sicut pater vester perfectus est in celis. Assimulamur autem operantes et efficientes quod precipit ille. Assimulabimur plane si illum amaverimus; amabimus quidem si eius mandata servaverimus. Si
F2r quis di-|ligit me sermonem meum servat. Amor est principium omnium. Ex amore credis ex fide speras. Antecedit amor fidem, spes subsequitur, ut Policarpus scribit ad Philippenses. Amore regignimur in novum esse

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3 BL observationibus] SP observacionibus] L obsignacionibus **6** BL contineatur: -a- inserted as superscript by correcting hand **10** SP, L Timotheum] BL Thimotheum **12** BL non] SP omits] L includes in brackets **14** II.1] BL: "De Baptismo" inserted by so-called "red annotating hand" **19** SP, L diligit] BL digit (apparently with -li- dropped at change of page]

discovered were willing to believe, forming them by a further teaching as far as seemed good, arranged them in order, with the elders and seniors put in charge of the church, whom the juniors ought to obey, also with certain rites and sacramentals[58] left in fitting words and signs; and for the people these were to be supports as it were, props, and suitable reminders of a higher and simpler truth, by means of which the Christian multitude may be held together in religion and religion be protected from what is profane. Pontifices, moreover, are drawn into the light itself, and they possess the truths of signs; and the Christian common people are colored [by those signs]; the Jewish, on the other hand, are shadowed [by them].

Dionysius, a pontifex in the Christian religion, was practiced in the mysteries of the sacraments. When beginning to describe them in writing to Timothy, he adjured him not to communicate them except to holy, learned, and good men, pontifices like himself, on the condition that those also should communicate them only to the same, lest, in opposition to evangelical precept, what is holy should be given to dogs and pearls to swine.[59]

Chapter 2.1. On Baptism

Our Christianity desires only that we may be made like God. "Be you therefore perfect," the Savior says, "as also your heavenly Father is perfect."[60] We are made like God by doing and bringing about what he commands. We will be fully like him if we will have loved him; we will love indeed if we will have followed his mandates.[61] "If any one love me, he keeps my word."[62] Love is the beginning of all things.[63] From love you believe, from faith you hope. Love precedes faith, hope follows, as Polycarp writes to

[58] Observationibus>observatio, Latham.

[59] DEH, 1. 5 (PG 3. 377A–377B).

[60] Matt 5:48: "estote ergo vos perfecti sicut et Pater vester caelestis perfectus est."

[61] DEH, 2. 1 (PG 3. 392A).

[62] Jn 14:23, cited also in DEH, 2.1 (PG 3. 392A): "respondit Iesus et dixit ei si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit et Pater meus diliget eum et ad eum veniemus et mansiones apud eum faciemus."

[63] DEH, 2. 1 (PG 3. 392B), alluding to the teaching of Hierotheus, claimed by Dionysius as his teacher. Here "love" translates *amor* in CEH, ἀγάπησις in DEH.

spiritale deo. Amati a deo renascimur in illo fideles et sperantes ut in christo clamemus abba pater. Primum oportet regignitus sis in deo, ut deinde adolescas in melius. Spiritu dei regignimur in deum qui calefaciens expurgat nos ut credamus christo et speremus in eo. Ex amore quum credimus et speramus credita renascimur filii dei. Hic baptismus est spiritu et igne. Hec spiritalis racio adumbratur imaginibus et significatur, ut spiritus incorporetur ab eis et corpora spiritificentur ab illis. Quibus signis sumus admoniti ut memores sumus divine regenerationis, qua non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri sed ex deo nati sumus; ut cogitemus vivendum esse non secundum hominem sed secundum deum patrem, in cuius domo sumus; sumusque non ex mundo sed ex deo vivamusque in hoc mundo non ut placeamus hominibus sed deo. Quid enim aliud vult nova nostra generatio quam ut qui eramus non
f2v si | mus? Nonne est generatio unius corruptio alterius? Nonne regignimur ut moriamur mundo et hominibus et vivamus deo? ut in domo dei

1 BL, SP spiritale deo] L spiritale in deo **3** SP, L calefaciens] BL califaciens **4** BL: "eo" inserted by correcting hand **8** BL, SP sumus] L simus **10** BL: "non" following "cogitemus" struck **11** BL, L in] SP In

the Philippians.[64] Through love we are reborn into a new spiritual existence in God. Loved by God, we are reborn in him, faithful and hoping so that in Christ we may cry, "Abba, Father."[65] It is fitting that you should be reborn in God first so that later you may grow into what is better.[66] We are reborn into God through God's Spirit, who, heating [us] up, purifies us so that we may believe in Christ and hope in him. When we believe out of love and when we hope for what is believed, we are reborn as sons of God. This is the baptism by spirit and fire.[67] This spiritual way of thinking is shadowed and figured by images, so that the spirit may be embodied by these [images] and the flesh made spiritual by those [principles]. And through these signs we are admonished that we must be mindful of divine regeneration, through which we are born not from blood, the will of the flesh, or the will of man but from God;[68] that we must consider we exist not according to man but according to God the Father, in whose house we dwell; and [that] we are not of the world but of God; and [that] we must live in this world not to please men but God. For what does our new birth mean other than that we are not what we were? Is not the birth of the one the corruption of the other? Are we not reborn so that we may die to the world and men and so that we may live in God? so that our citizenship may

[64] *Polycarp to the Philippians*, 3.2–3: "Certainly, neither I nor anyone like me can follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who, when he was present among you face to face with the generation of his time, [Acts 16:12, 13] taught you accurately and firmly 'the word of truth.' [Eph. 1:13]. Also when absent he wrote you letters that will enable you, if you study them carefully, [Cf. I Clem. 45:2] to grow in the faith delivered to you—'which is a mother of us all,' [Gal. 4:26] accompanied by hope, and led by love to God and Christ and our neighbor. [Col. 1:4, 5]. For if anyone is occupied in these, he has fulfilled the commandment of righteousness; for he who possesses love [ἀγάπην] is far from all sin" (tr. Cyril C. Richardson, Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Web). The letter of Polycarp often appeared with the works of Dionysius in editions after 1498. Polycarp's rendering seems to reverse the Pauline order of the virtues in 1 Cor 13:13, with love preceding faith and hope. Colet repeats this order without comment but later substitutes his own variation on Paul's order. L apparently does not include the reference because of an alteration of the punctuation in SP (p. 60, n. 1).

[65] Gal 4:6: "quoniam autem estis filii misit Deus Spiritum Filii sui in corda nostra clamantem Abba Pater."

[66] DEH, 2.1 (PG 3. 392B–C).

[67] Lk 3:16: "respondit Iohannes dicens omnibus ego quidem aqua baptizo vos venit autem fortior me cuius non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calciamentorum eius ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto et igni." Cf. 2 Esdr 13:27: "et quoniam vidisti de ore eius exire ut spiritum et ignem et tempestate."

[68] Jn 1:12–13: "quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri sed ex Deo nati sunt."

conversatio nostra sit in celis? in mundo non alimentis et quibus tegamur his contenti simus? Hanc profectionem nove vite in quam regignimur a spiritu dei apostoli voluerunt imaginibus significari, ut per imagines accedant homines ad veritatem et veritas per easdem descendat in homines, ut imagines et sacramenta sint media quedam in veritatem et homines verificandos a spiritu veritatis.

[II.2]

[Q]uum homines erant dissimiles deo omnino et sui similes,voluit bonus deus similis esse homini, ut homines dei similes efficeret. Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis. Qui erat in forma dei semetipsum exinanivit formam servi suscipiens in similitudinem hominum factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis. Qui non noverat peccatum pro nobis peccatum
f3r fecit, ut nos efficeremur | iusticia dei in ipso. Hic erat eternus dei filius quem pater, mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati, de peccato damnavit

1 BL: "non" inserted as superscript by correcting hand] SP non non] L non **1** SP, L alimentis] BL case corrected but illegible **2** BL, SP profectionem] L perfectionem **7** II.2] As at II.1, the correcting hand inserts "De Baptismo" in space between sections. **9** BL: "Verbum" inserted by correcting hand, possibly Colet's, in blank space.

be in God's heavenly house,[69] so that we may not be content with foods and those things by which we are covered in the world? The apostles wished this progression of new life wherein we are reborn through God's spirit to be signified in images so that through images men might come near the truth and through the same images truth might descend to men, so that images and sacraments may be means to truth, and men [may be] made true by the spirit of truth.

Chapter 2.2. On the Rite of Baptism

When men were entirely dissimilar to God and like one another, a good God willed to be like man so that he might form men like God.[70] "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."[71] He who was in God's form emptied himself, "taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross."[72] He "who knew no sin, he hath made sin for us, that we might be made the justice of God in him."[73] This was God's eternal son whom the Father, sending into the likeness of the sinful flesh, on account of sin, "hath condemned sin in the flesh, that the

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[69] Phil 3:20: "Nostra autem conversatio in cælis est: unde etiam Salvatorem exspectamus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum."

[70] This is the patristic exchange formula of theosis exemplified by Athanasius of Alexandria (*On the Incarnation of the Word*, 3:13): "The Word of God came in His own Person, because it was He alone, the Image of the Father Who could recreate man made after the Image" (Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Web). Colet's formula is close to that of Cyril of Alexandria in that it uses *similis* in both members, though with an emphasis on deification through imitation rather than by nature. See Cyril of Alexandria: "He was Man too, in that He became Flesh, likening Himself to us, that through Him that which is by nature far separated might be conjoined to God" (*Commentary on the Gospel according to S. John*, Vol. 2, tr. T. Randell [London: Smith, 1885], 3. 5. 46 [p. 309]; *Internet Archive*, Web, 11 November 2012).

[71] Jn 1:14: "et Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis."

[72] Phil 2:6–8: "qui cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo sed semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inventus ut homo humiliavit semet ipsum factus oboediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis." We are grateful to Professor Ernest Kaulbach of The University of Texas at Austin, who has noted the liturgical unity implied by Colet's juxtaposition of Jn 1:14, from the liturgy at Christmas, and Phil 2:6–8, read at Easter.

[73] 2 Cor 5:21: "eum qui non noverat peccatum pro nobis peccatum fecit ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in ipso."

peccatum in carne ut iustificatio legis impleretur in nobis, qui non secundum carnem ambulamus sed secundum spiritum in agnitione et cultu veri dei.

Illius vicem in terris passim agunt pontifices in illoque agunt quod egit ipse, ac pari affectu purgationem et illuminationem hominum ac salutem assidua veritatis nunciatione irradiationeque evangelii moliuntur, uti molitus est ille. Paulus ait, Deus erat in christo mundum reconcilians sibi, non reputans illis delicta ipsorum; et posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis. Pro christo ergo legatione fungimur. Agentes vicem christi ignem flant quem christus venit mittere in terram ut eum amplificent. Ignem inquit apud Lucam veni mittere in terram; et quid volo nisi ut accendatur? Baptisma habeo baptizari; et quomodo coarctor donec perficiatur? Baptizavit ille Ioannis testimonio spiritu et igne. Ignis enim purgat illuminat

2 L cultu] BL SP cultus **12** L baptizari (as in the Vulgate)] BL, SP baptizare

justification of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit,"[74] in recognition and worship of the true God.

Pontifices[75] everywhere perform his office on earth, and in him they do what he himself has done, and through a similar disposition they exert themselves just as he exerted himself to achieve the purification, illumination, and salvation of humankind through diligent proclamation of truth and by the radiant enlightment of the gospel. Paul has said, God "was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing to them their sins; and he hath placed in us the word of reconciliation. For Christ therefore we are ambassadors."[76] Those acting in Christ's place fan the fire that Christ came to send into the world in order to enlarge it. In Luke he says, "I came to cast fire upon the the earth, and what will I, but that it be kindled? And I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptized: and how am I straitened until it be accomplished?"[77] According to the testimony of John the Baptist, [Christ] baptized with the spirit and with fire.[78] For fire purifies, illumines, and perfects.[79] That spiritual fire does this in the

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[74] Rom 8:3–4: "nam quod inpossibile erat legis in quo infirmabatur per carnem Deus Filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati et de peccato damnavit peccatum in carne ut iustificatio legis impleretur in nobis qui non secundum carnem ambulamus sed secundum Spiritum."

[75] Pontifices. See n. 20 above.

[76] 2 Cor 5:19–20: "quoniam quidem Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi non reputans illis delicta ipsorum et posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis pro Christo ergo legationem fungimur tamquam Deo exhortante per nos obsecramus pro Christo reconciliamini Deo."

[77] Lk 12:49, 50: "ignem veni mittere in terram et quid volo si accendatur baptisma autem habeo baptizari et quomodo coartor usque dum perficiatur." L silently changes BL's *baptizare* to the Vulgate's *baptizari*.

[78] Luke 3:16: "vos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto et igni." Cf. Matt 3:10 and Mk 1:8, the latter omitting mention of fire. Cf. DEH 2. 2. 1 (PG 3. 393A) for the simile of God as fire, in contrast to Dionysius's much more frequent use of the symbol of light.

[79] On the fire implicit in all levels and actions of being, see DCH 13. 3 (PG 3. 304A), which attributes only a relatively greater power of fire and share of wisdom to the highest angelic rank; see also Dionysius's Letter 9, which considers varying senses of fire referring to god, his "activities or reasons," and the angels (PG 3. 1108C–D). Colet's marginal comments on Ficino's letter *De divino furore* develops an analogy between two types of heat and two types of beauty and love: "As the heat of fire is a degenerate form of the heat of the sun, so in the same way the love of physical beauty is a degenerate form of the love of divine beauty. For the love of divine beauty is chaste, reverent, and everlasting; whereas the love of physical beauty is lewd, insolent, and scornful. Love of the body consumes, destroys and tortures; [but the love of God] consoles, cherishes, soothes and re-creates like the heat of the sun" (Jayne 90; cf. Ficino, *Epistolae* [Venice, 1495], iii^{v}–iv^{r}; *Opera Omnia*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller [Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1959], I.ii. 613).

et perficit. Ignis ille spiritalis hec facit in animis hominum. Ut hoc salutare incendium exaugeant in silva hominum ministri et vicarii sunt Iesu
f3v pontifices: qui succensionem | hominum in deo querunt. Hic autem ignis sane est sanctus amor dei, quem amabiles pontifices dirivant in mundum, in deo ipsi amantes homines, ut ii deinde deum redament amoreque dei regeniti in deo vivant credentes filio misso et omnem spem ponentes in deo. Amor enim principium gignendi est et sanctus amor sanctitatis et dei amor deitatis.

Huius autem bonitatis misericordie amoris et pietatis dei nuncius erat eiusdem amabilis filius Iesus christus qui primum amorem sapienter deduxit in homines, ut eo regeniti patrem secum celestem redament. Qui agnoscunt admittunt audiunt et recipiunt magni consilii angelum Iesum, dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri, ut nati ex hominibus iam credentes christo feliciter renascantur filii dei. Ille dum vixit mortalis in carne pontificatum egit ipse, re officium edocens. Et tum salus erat in credendo illi presenti. Quum vero ostensa pontificis forma bonus et paciens sacerdos ipse se obtulit deo sacrificium propiciatorium, tunc cepit par salus esse eis qui crediderunt illis, qui vicariam operam Iesu prestiterunt, qui loco Iesu eundem nunciant sicut ille seipsum nunciavit. Non enim predi-
f4r |camus inquit Paulus nosmetipsos vobis sed Iesum christum dominum nostrum; nos autem servos vestros per Iesum. Ideo salvator ut refert Lucas illis dixit quos misit evangelizatum. Qui vos audit me audit, et qui vos spernit me spernit; qui me spernit spernit eum qui misit me. Erat enim deus in christo, et christus in apostolis in apostolorumque successoribus ad reconciliationem mundi deo. Agit ergo pontifex quisque in sua ecclesia (ut beatus Ignatius martir testatus est in sua epistola ad Mag[nesi]anos)

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15 BL egit] SP, L agit **18** vicariam] SP: scribe corrects original “variam” by striking -ar- and inserting superscript -ica- **20** SP nosmetipsos] L nosmet ipsos] BL nosmeipsos **26** L Mag[nesi]anos] BL, SP Maganos

souls of men. Ministers and vicars of Jesus are the pontifices who seek out the kindling of men in God, so that they may stoke the wholesome conflagration in a forest of men. Moreover, this fire is surely God's holy love, which pontifices worthy of love pass on[80] to the world, themselves in God loving mankind, so that thereafter those may return love to God, and, reborn by God's love, may live in God, believing in the son, the envoy, and putting all hope in God. For love is the beginning of procreating; holy love, of sanctity; and love of God, of deity.

Moreover, God's messenger of this goodness, mercy, love, and piety was the same love-worthy son, Jesus Christ, who first brought love down wisely to men so that, reborn by that [love], they may return love along with him to the heavenly Father. He gave the power to become sons of God[81] to those who recognize, admit, hear, and receive Jesus, the angel of great counsel,[82] so that, born of men, now believing in Christ, happily they may be re-born as sons of God. While he lived as a mortal man, in the flesh, he held the position of pontiff, teaching [its] duty by practice. And at that time deliverance consisted in believing in him, who was present. Since the time that the good and patient priest, having demonstrated the form of a pontiff, offered himself as a propitiatory sacrifice to God, an equal deliverance has come to exist among the ones who believed in those who have fulfilled the vicarious work of Jesus, who in the place of Jesus proclaim the same person he proclaimed. "For we preach not ourselves" to you, as Paul says, "but Jesus Christ our Lord; and ourselves your servants through Jesus."[83] Therefore, the savior, as Luke recounts, told those whom he sent to preach: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me."[84] For God was in Christ, and Christ in the apostles and in the successors of the apostles for the reconciliation of the world to God. Therefore every pontifex in his own church (as Blessed Ignatius the martyr has testified in his epistle to the Magnesians) plays the part of God and of

[80] Cf. DEH, 2. 2. 5 (PG 3. 393D–396A).

[81] Jn 1:12: "Quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius."

[82] Cf. Isa 9:6: "et vocabitur nomen eius Admirabilis consiliarius."

[83] 2 Cor 4:5: "non enim nosmet ipsos praedicamus sed Iesum Christum Dominum nos autem servos vestros per Iesum."

[84] Lk 10:16: "qui vos audit me audit et qui vos spernit me spernit qui autem me spernit spernit eum qui me misit."

personam dei et christi, cui iubet obediant omnes ut domino ipso. Sub pontifice sacerdotes apostolorum locum tenent. Sub his diaconi sunt ministri populo fideli.

Episcopi officium est christi instar acceptam veritatem constanter et assidue evangelizare. Est enim inter deum et homines quasi medius angelus qui divina ut christus denunciet hominibus, ut qualem eum deus effecerit eiusmodi et tales alios homines efficiat, ut quemadmodum ille deum, ita alii deinceps ipsum imitentur, qui incessanter clamet illud apostolicum Imitamini me sicut ego christum. Imitatio enim et profectio in similitudinem dei qui est in christo Iesu est vita hominis super terram. Pontifex
f4v in se christi formam | preseferens et predicans et exhortans et admonens omnes ut velint se in illam formam effingi, ut similes christo salvi sint illo, aliquos permoveat necesse est propter vim divini sermonis qui ut scribit Paulus ad Hebreos vivus est et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, pertingens usque ad divisionem anime et spiritus compagum quoque ac medullarum et discretor cogitacionum ac intentionum cordis. Qui vero agitur spiritali dei radio: qui commeat cum verbo dei is incipit spiritu regingni in filium dei. Nam penitere incipit acte vite sine deo; etenim primus sancti spiritus effectus penitentia est vite illius que aboleatur ac depositio eiusdem et abiectio in perpetuum.

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2 sacerdotes] SP: -tes added as superscript **4** BL, L constanter] SP conster **14** BL, L Hebreos] SP hebreos **19** BL, SP aboleatur] L aboletur **20** in perpetuum] L in perpertuum (sic.)] BL imperpetuum] SP imperpetum

Christ, to which [pontifex] [Christ] commands all must be subject, just as [Christ is] to God himself.[85] Under the pontifex, priests hold the place of the apostles. Under these, deacons are ministers to the faithful people.

The office of the bishop,[86] like that of Christ, is to preach the truth received constantly and urgently.[87] For he is as it were a mediating angel between God and mankind who like Christ proclaims divine things to men,[88] so that [the bishop] may make other men such and of such a kind as God has made him, and so that just as he [imitates] God, others in turn may imitate him, and ceaselessly to cry that apostolic [command]: Imitate me, as I Christ.[89] For the life of mankind on earth is imitation and advancement toward the likeness of God who exists in Christ Jesus. It is inevitable that the pontifex, manifesting in himself the form of Christ and preaching, exhorting, and admonishing all to wish themselves moulded to that form because of the power of the divine word—which is, as Paul writes to the Hebrews, "living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword, and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit, of the joints also and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart"—should rouse some to be saved by him, similar to Christ.[90] And he who is moved by God's spiritual ray, who frequents God's word, begins to be reborn by the spirit as God's son. For he begins to feel sorrow for what has been done in life without God; and in fact penitence for the life that is to be destroyed, together with the removal and disposal of the same in perpetuity, is indeed the first effect of the holy spirit.

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[85] Ignatius, Epistle to the Magnesians (Longer Version), 7: "As therefore the Lord does nothing without the Father, for says He, 'I can of mine own self do nothing,' so do ye, neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor layman, do anything without the bishop. Nor let anything appear commendable to you which is destitute of his approval. For every such thing is sinful, and opposed [to the will of] God." Tr. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing, 1885); ed. for New Advent by Kevin Knight. Web.

[86] Episcopi.

[87] DEH, 2.2.1 (PG 3. 393A) attributes to the hierarch what 1Tm 2:4 attributes to Christ, "qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire."

[88] DEH, 2.2.1–5 (PG 3. 393C–396A).

[89] 1Cor 11:1: "imitatores mei estote sicut et ego Christi." See also 1Cor 4:16, Eph 5:1, Phil 3:17.

[90] Heb 4:12: "vivus est enim Dei sermo et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus conpagum quoque et medullarum et discretor cogitationum et intentionum cordis."

Hinc clamitavit Ioannes ille precursor: Penitentiam agite. Idem deinde christus et magnificentius et sonantius acclamavit hominibus: Penitentiam agite, appropinquabit enim regnum celorum. Cuius enim non penitet preteriti mali, is futurum bonum nequit velle. Et qui cuius penitet, non deposuit is quod velit melius non potest induere. Qui vult mutare vestem exuat se oportet, ut induat, et abolere in se vetustatem omnem, ut novitatem oleat. Quod predicatur a pontifice no-|vum est et abraso veteri odore f5r penitus nova vasa exposcit ne instar novi vini immissum in vasa vetera ea derumpat et ipsum effluat. Qui vult nova et immaculata tunica quam manus et digitus dei contexuit decore incedere in christo veterem et sordidam vestem mortalitatis quam homo sibi confecit exutam omnino et totam abiectam oportet habeat. Nemo enim mittit commissuram panni rudis in vestimentum vetus; vel, ut Marcus loquitur, Nemo assumentum panni rudis assuit vestimento veteri. Etenim, ut addit Lucas, veteri non convenit commissura nova.

Ad immortalitatem si eat homo, oportet nihil agat nisi quod spectet ad immortalitatem. Abiiciat tenebrarum opera et induat arma lucis; sequatur pontificem ducem; sit miles sacramento ascriptus in exercitu christiano. Quum excesserit e mundo insignitus cruce christi, profiteatur pugnam cum hostibus veritatis, cum principe tenebrarum. Non est, ut scribit apostolus ad Ephesios, nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, id est, contra homines, quorum salus querenda est, non mors. Nolo mortem

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3 BL, SP appropinquabit] L appropinquavit **3–4** penitet] SP: -et added as superscript in correcting hand. **5** BL, L deposuit] SP desposuit (probably due to Meghen's revising first long "s" in "deposuit" to "p")

Hence John the forerunner cried out: "Repent!"[91] Later, Christ more magnificently and resoundingly exclaimed the same to men: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[92] For he who does not penance for past evils can have no hope of any future good. And he who does penance for those [but] does not cast them off cannot put on whatever he would desire that is better. He who wishes to change clothes must strip in order to dress himself, and must abolish everything from the past in order to smell of what is new.[93] What is preached by the pontifex is new, and earnestly requires new vessels with the old odor removed lest, in the figure of new wine poured into old vessels, it should burst them and flow away.[94] He who wishes to walk fittingly in Christ in the new and unspotted tunic that God's hand and finger has woven must have put off entirely and abandoned completely the old and polluted vestment of mortality that man has prepared for himself. For "nobody putteth a piece of raw cloth unto an old garment";[95] or, as Mark says, no one "seweth a piece of raw cloth to an old garment."[96] For indeed, as Luke adds, the new cloth does not match the old.[97]

If a man seeks immortality, he ought to do nothing other than what looks to immortality. He ought to cast aside works of darkness and put on the armor of light; he ought to follow the pontific leader; he ought to be a soldier enlisted by the sacrament into a Christian army. Marked with Christ's cross, when he will have gone beyond the world he should declare war openly on truth's enemies, on the prince of darkness. As the apostle writes to the Ephesians, "for our wrestling is not against flesh and blood"[98]—that is, against humanity, whose salvation, not death, is to be

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[91] Matt 3:2: "et dicens paenitentiam agite adpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum."

[92] Matt 4:17: "coepit Iesus praedicare et dicere paenitentiam agite adpropinquavit enim regnum caelorum."

[93] Cf. DEH 2.2.5–6 (PG 3. 396A–C).

[94] Luke 5:38: "sed vinum novum in utres novos mittendum est et utraque conservantur." Cf. DEH, 2.2.6 (PG 3. 396B), from which Colet freely departs, as by substituting admonitions to repent for Dionysius's three-fold abjuration of Satan.

[95] Matt 9:16: "nemo autem inmittit commissuram panni rudis in vestimentum vetus tollit enim plenitudinem eius a vestimento et peior scissura fit."

[96] Mk 2:21: "nemo adsumentum panni rudis adsuit vestimento veteri alioquin aufert supplementum novum a veteri et maior scissura fit."

[97] Lk 5:26: "dicebat autem et similitudinem ad illos quia nemo commissuram a vestimento novo inmittit in vestimentum vetus."

[98] Eph 6:12: "quia non est nobis conluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus." Colet uses the post-Augustan form "colluctacio" for "wrestling."

f5v peccatoris, dicit dominus in Ezechieli, sed ut conver-|tatur et vivat. Sed colluctatio nostra est adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritalia nequitie in celestibus. Quod bellum qui indicat hosti lucis, amore premii quod victoribus proponitur, oportet humiliter et magno animo accedat ad ecclesiam, et roget aliquem ut ad ducem exercitus, id est pontificem, ducatur, ut militari sacramento in christo astringatur in pugnam in ipso profiteaturque se hostem mundi et socium et servum et militem christi, cuius sacramento iuratus (vocat Paulus ad quos scribit suos comilitiones) petat arma spiritalia petat instituti in legittima pugna. Is tum quisquis sit ad quem talis divini spiritus ductu venit – Nemo enim inquit salvator venit nisi tractus, et ad predicationem Pauli in Antiochia Pisidie ut scribit Lucas crediderunt quotquot erant preordinati ad vitam eternam – is inquam ad quem preordinatus et tractus in veram ecclesiam venit quando rogatur ab eodem ut ipsum ducat ad pontificem, ut in numero bellantium in christo Iesu admittatur.
f6r Profecto est eius qui audit hominis votum, ut tametsi nihil magis cu-|pit quam ut quamplurimi fideles sint in Christo que militiam spiritalem suscipiant, tamen in principio animadvertens et colligens secum, quanta est res professio milicie et christiani nominis quantaque eciam est humana imbecillitas, exhorrescat secum et timeat homini illi ne temere in se suscipiat plus quam prestare possit.

Male enim agitur cum iis qui non militant in christo Iesu, verum multo peius cum eis agitur (et mille modis infeliciores sunt) qui pro imposita persona non agunt, qui languent, qui frigent, qui locum deserunt, qui illuc unde venerint dilabuntur. Tunc ut ait salvator apud Matheum, novissima

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4 indicat] BL, L] SP : "t" as superscript **5** BL: "ad" inserted by correcting hand **9** BL comilitiones] SP commilitones] L commilitiones **11** venit] BL, L] SP: "t" as superscript **12** SP, L Antiochia] BL Anthiochia **14** BL quando] SP, L quum **15** BL, SP bellantium] L bellantum **17** Christo que] BL christoque] SP christo que] L Christoque **20** SP: "se" inserted as superscript **23** imposita] BL: a small hole of one or two characters' width in MS, affecting a single leaf. As above, Meghen apparently wrote around the defect

sought. In Ezechiel the Lord says, "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live."[99] Rather, our struggle is against principalities and powers, against the rulers of this world's darkness, against spiritual beings of evil in the heavens. It is fitting that he who declares this war on the enemy of light should, by love of the prize promised to the victors, approach the church with humility and great courage, and [that] he should ask someone to lead [him] to the army's leader—that is, the pontifex—so that he may be bound within himself to the battle in Christ by a military oath[100] and may profess himself an enemy of the world and an ally, servant, and soldier of Christ, by whose oath having been sworn (Paul calls [those] to whom he writes his fellow-soldiers[101]), he should request spiritual arms, ask to be instituted in a lawful war. Then whoever he may be to whom such a one comes, led by the spirit—for none, the Savior says, comes unless drawn,[102] and according to Paul's preaching in Pisidian Antioch, as Luke writes, "as many as were pre-ordained to life everlasting, believed,"[103]—he [is the one], I say, to whom one pre-ordained and drawn to the true church comes when he is asked by the same to be led to the pontifex, so that he may be enlisted in the number of those fighting in Christ Jesus.[104] Even if it is surely the concern of him who hears the man's vow that he desires nothing other than that as many as are faithful in Christ take up the spiritual battle, yet first noticing and concluding within himself how great a thing is the military profession and the Christian name and how great human weakness is, let him tremble within himself and fear for that man lest he is rashly taking on more than he can deliver.[105]

It goes badly for those who do not fight in Christ Jesus, but much worse still for others (and they are a thousand times unhappier) who do not act according to the set part, who languish, who freeze, who desert, who slip away to the place whence they came. Then, as the savior

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[99] Ezek 33:11: "dic ad eos vivo ego dicit Dominus Deus nolo mortem impii sed ut revertatur impius a via sua et vivat …."

[100] *Sacramento*: literally, "that which binds," but note the paronomasia, with baptism as a military "sacrament" in both ecclesiastical and Dionysian senses.

[101] Philem 1:2: "commilitoni nostro."

[102] Jn 6:44: "nemo potest venire ad me nisi Pater qui misit me traxerit eum." Colet adapts the Vulgate, which asserts the guidance of the Father, to his context, on the agency of the Spirit.

[103] Acts 13:48: "et crediderunt quotquot erant praeordinati ad vitam aeternam."

[104] DEH, 2. 2. 5 (PG 3. 396A).

[105] DEH 2. 2. 2 (PG 3. 393B).

hominis illius fiunt peiora prioribus. Ut in secunda est Petri epistola, Si refugientes coinquinationes mundi, in cognitione domini nostri et salvatoris Iesus christi his rursus implicati superantur, facta sunt eis posteriora deteriora prioribus. Melius enim illis esset non cognoscere viam iusticie, quam post agnitionem retrorsum converti ab eo quod illis traditum est sancto mandato. Contingit enim illis illud veri proverbii: Canis reversus ad suum vomitum; et sus lota in volutabro luti. Erat quidem in more et consueverunt illi omnes qui introduxerint aliquem f6v | in ecclesiam christi, in celestem militiam, in templum dei, primum hesitabundi secum exhorrescere. Introduxerunt tamen postremo bona fide et spe in deo, simul multis fusis precibus, ut res bene succedat et homini illi qui voluit et cupivit christianis sacris iniciari omnia bene et feliciter eveniant. Pontifex autem letabundus secum de lucro in christo deo gracias agit et una cum reliquo sacerdotio hymnos canit festiviter.

Atque tum rogante pontifice quidnam velit, introductus respondet ille detestans viam qua deliravit, se in semita iusticie in calle veritatis institui velle. Deplorat statum pristinum; desiderat novum christi Iesu. Quam veram penitentiam agnoscens pontifex et simplicem voluntatem approbans asseverat ei in primis, si velit iter capere in deum, illuc tum totum et penitus conferre oportere purgatum omnino et perfectum. Tum exponens que sit recta vivendi ratio et via quam ingrediatur, ac deinde interrogans velit ne libens et sponte eam subire; tum quum viderit hominem se totum in eam partem offerre, imposita manu ex more signatum, quando

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3 L his] BL, SP hi **8** BL: “qui” inserted by correcting hand **15** pontifice] BL: hole of about three characters’ width divides pont- from -ifice **19** BL tum, with Meghen adding accidental ligature from top of “t” to the crossing bar, the result vaguely like an “e”] SP, L eum **20** SP: “omnino” as superscript

has [it] in Matthew, "the last state of that man is made worse than the first."[106] According to the second epistle of Peter, "if, flying from the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they be again entangled in them and overcome"; their latter state is become unto them worse than the former. For it were better for them not to have known the way of justice than after they have known it to turn back from that holy commandment which was delivered to them. For that true proverb applied to them: "The dog is returned to his vomit: and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire."[107] Indeed the custom was that all who led others to Christ's church, to celestial military service, to God's temple, first accustomed themselves to be terrified of faltering alongside them. Yet they conducted them finally with good faith and hope in God, together with many prayers poured out that the matter might go well and [that] for the man who wished and desired to be initiated in Christian mysteries all in every way might turn out well and favourably. Rejoicing with them, moreover, at the gain in Christ, the pontifex gives thanks to God and together with all the remaining priesthood sings hymns festively.[108]

When the pontifex asks him what he wishes, he, having been introduced, detesting the path by which he has deviated from the straight way, responds [that] he wishes to be set on the narrow path of justice, on the track of truth. He laments his former state; he longs for the new one of Christ Jesus. Recognizing that true repentance and approving the undivided will, the pontifex confidently assures him [that], in the first place, should he wish to begin the journey to God he must convey himself thither whole and complete, entirely purified and perfected. Next, [he] explains what the right principle of living is and the path he must enter and thereafter asks whether he wishes to go down it freely and willingly;[109] and thereupon, when he has seen the man completely offering himself with that intention, and when, after the laying on of hands according to custom, he entrusts him, thus marked, to the priests that they may

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[106] Matt 12:45: "et fiunt novissima hominis illius peiora prioribus."

[107] 2 Pet 2:20–22: "si enim refugientes coinquinationes mundi in cognitione Domini nostri et salvatoris Iesu Christi his rursus inpliciti superantur facta sunt eis posteriora deteriora prioribus, melius enim erat illis non cognoscere viam iustitiae quam post agnitionem retrorsum converti ab eo quod illis traditum est sancto mandato, contigit enim eis illud veri proverbii canis reversus ad suum vomitum et sus lota in volutabro luti."

[108] DEH, 2. 2. 4 (PG 3. 393C).

[109] DEH, 2. 2. 5 (PG 3. 393D–396A).

mandavit sacerdotibus ut eius nomen in christianorum cathalogo ascri-
f7r bant et qui introduxe-|rit eciam, quem Dionysius vocat susceptorem, eum arbitror quem nunc apud nos deum patrem, hominem sacerdotibus et ministris exuendum statim tradit. Exutum et nudum ferme, versus occidentem locant. Iubent ut ter exflet sathanam ac ore vultu spiritu manibus omnium diaboli abrenunciationem perpetuam profiteatur. Denique seipsum penitus abrenunciet.

Quod quum fecerit, quumque efflaverit sathanam et eius omnia renunciaverit abnegaveritque denique semetipsum – iuxta illud salvatoris, qui dixerit omnibus suis, ut Lucas refert, Si quis vult venire post me abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me tunc hominem – vertunt in orientem et iubent tum mente tum verbis christum ter et que sunt christi profiteatur. Quem sic facientem benedicit pontifex, et precibus eum deo commendat, manibus iterum in caput impositis. Tum quod reliquum est tegumenti detracto, quum ter signo crucis pontifex eum sacro oleo insigniverit, tunc totum reliquum hominem sacerdotibus deungendum tradit. Ipse pontifex interea, quum aquam, adoptionis matrem, sanctificavit more instituto ab apostolis et ritu legittimo, adduc-
f7v tum hominem ad manus recita-|to nomine eius ex codice ac sacerdotibus eius nomen acclamantibus, invocans trinitatem ter hominem aquis perfundit et obruit, ut ter emergat. Emersum autem et iam editum in lucem quasi renatum deo induunt nova et candida veste; indutum ad pontificem reducunt. Reductum iterum unguento insignit pontifex, et sacre

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8 BL, SP quum] L qui **8** BL quumque] SP quum] L qui **10** BL dixerit] SP, L dixit **11** L tollat] BL, SP tollet **11** SP, L hominem] BL homiminem **18** BL: “matrem” inserted in line by correcting hand, possibly Colet’s

inscribe his name in a registry of Christians and [the name] also of him who has introduced [him], [the one] whom Dionysius calls "sponsor," the one whom I think is now called "god-father" among us, he then immediately hands over the man to the priests and deacons to be stripped.[110] The one stripped and quite naked they face toward the west. They command that he must expel Satan thrice and openly proclaim a perpetual renunciation of everything diabolic by mouth, expression, breath, hands.[111] Finally he must renounce completely his very self.

When he has done that and has emitted the last of Satan, renounced all his works and finally denied even himself—like that [precept] of the savior, who told all his [disciples], as Luke records, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and then follow me"[112]—they then turn the man to the east and command him first in mind, then in words, thrice to profess Christ and those things that are of Christ.[113] The pontifex blesses him who does so and in prayers commends him to God, again having placed his hands upon his head. Then, whatever remains of [his] covering having been removed, first the pontifex thrice makes the sign of the cross on him with holy oil, then hands over all the remains of that man to the priests to be anointed[114] from head to toe. Meanwhile, when he has consecrated the water, the mother of adoption,[115] in accord with custom established by the apostles and lawful form, the pontifex himself, invoking the trinity, thrice pours water over the man who has been led to [his] hand, his name having been recited from the book and with priests proclaiming his name, and inundates him so that he must come up thrice. They cover [the one] brought up and presently brought to the light, as if reborn in God, with a new, gleaming white garment; and they return [him] clothed to the pontifex. The pontifex again marks

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[110] DEH, 2. 2. 5–7 (PG 3. 396A–C). Dionysius assigns the disrobing to deacons and the preparation for anointing to priests.

[111] DEH, 2. 2. 6 (PG 3. 396B).

[112] Lk 9:23: "si quis vult post me venire abneget se ipsum et tollat crucem suam cotidie et sequatur me."

[113] DEH, 2. 2. 6 (PG 3. 396B).

[114] Deungendum: possibly Colet's coinage.

[115] This curious phrase for a baptismal font appears in DEH (PG 3. 396C) and TEH (24^{r}); it seems connected to the font as a symbol of the mother's womb, wherein one is re-born in the sense of Jesus's reply to the literalist Nicodemus at Jn 3:4–6: "'Can one enter a second time into the mother's womb and be born?' Jesus answered, 'Very truly, I tell you, no one can enter the kingdom of God without being born of water and Spirit. What is born of the flesh is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit is spirit.'"

communionis participem facit, ut in corpore iam mistico ad christum pergat indies et progrediatur in anterius, ut in suscepto itinere et habitu professo piger non indicetur.

Hic erat mos et ritus baptismatis lavachrique regeneracionis in prima ecclesia institutus a sanctis apostolis quo excellentius baptisma interioris hominis significatur. Que forma plurimum differt a nostra qua hac etate utimur. De quo miror sane quamobrem in una et verissima religione tam dispar sit ritus sacrorum quum videamur studiosiores esse debere in conservandis nostris quam Hebrei in suis, quanto nostra sunt quam que illorum perfectiora. Ut enim ad Ephesios scribit Paulus, unus dominus una fides unum baptisma unum corpus est, ita similiter certe unus modus et ritus sacramentorum esse debet, nihilo addito nihiloque detracto ab anti-
f8r qua et veneranda institutione apostolo-|rum, quorum statuta immutare in sacris profecto scelus nephandum est. Nam illi edocti a Iesu christo mysteriis que sunt oportuna simbola et congrua signacula probe cognoverunt,ut liceat in additis et detractis ab institutis eorum posteritatis vel temeritatem vel negligentiam suspicari.

[II.3]

[P]reter vite purgationem quam decenter significat aque lotio illa est eciam Anagoge in illa et significatio sublimioris intelligentie. Ut enim invisibilia sunt sensibilium initia, ita sensibilia sacramenta insensibilium sunt significamenta; que sacramentis spiritalibus ut corpus anime adhibentur. Deus bonus et benignus est iusticie sol, spiritales naturas irradians,

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1 BL: "corpore" inserted by correcting hand as superscript above "xpo," the latter struck through with a single line. **1** ad christum] BL: "ad Christo" inserted as superscript by correcting hand] L ad Christum. **2** BL, L pergat] SP "per" abbreviation at end of line, repeated dittographically at beginning of next line, followed by "gat"] **3** BL, SP indicetur] L iudicatur **7** BL, SP verissima] L vetustissima **9** L Hebrei] BL, SP hebrei **18** II.3] BL: annotating hand inserts "Spiritalis speculation baptismi" in space between sections **20** L Anagoge] BL: macron over "e" probably added to reflect Greek "eta"; "Anagogen" inserted in margin by red annotating hand] SP Anagogen **20** SP, L significatio] BL signifatio

[the one] brought back with oil and makes [him] a participant in holy communion,[116] so that, now in the mystical body, he may continue toward Christ daily and may advance up to the front, that he not be declared sluggish on the journey undertaken and in the condition of life professed.

This was the custom and rite of baptism and of the bath of regeneration instituted by the holy apostles in the early church, by which the more excellent baptism of the inner man is signified. This form differs very much from what we use now. As regards this [difference], I truly wonder how such disparate sacred rites may exist in a single and most true religion when we should seem more careful in preserving ours than [were] the Hebrews in theirs, insofar as ours are more perfect than theirs. For as Paul writes to the Ephesians, there is "one lord, one faith, one baptism," [and] "one body,"[117] so too without doubt there similarly ought to be one custom and rite of the sacraments, with nothing added and nothing taken away from the ancient and venerable institution of the apostles, whose statutes in sacred matters it is truly an impious crime to change. For those, taught by Jesus Christ, well understood which are the appropriate symbols and fit signs for the mysteries with the result that one may suspect either the rashness or negligence of their successors who have added to or taken away from what had been established.

Chapter 2.3. Spiritual Contemplation of Baptism

More than the purification of life that washing in water properly signifies, there is also within it an anagoge[118] and a sign of a more sublime understanding. For just as things invisible are the first principles of things perceived through the senses, so perceptible sacraments are clear signifiers of what cannot be perceived; and they are joined to the spiritual sacraments as the body [is] to the soul.[119] Good and kind, God is the sun of justice,

[116] DEH, 2.2.6–7 (PG 3. 396B–D). Colet's language for the rite wavers between full immersion and a pouring of water upon the initiate.

[117] Eph 4:4–5: "unum corpus et unus spiritus sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis vestrae unus Dominus una fides unum baptisma."

[118] Anagoge, literally a "driving or leading upward." See 5.1 below.

[119] DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 397C). Colet translates Dionysius's distinction between invisible truths and their corporeal images or impressions, a contrast Dionysius claims to have elucidated in relation to sacramental rites in a false or lost work called *The Conceptual and the Perceptible*.

similiter et equaliter se fundens in omnes sine intermissione, et astans ad fores et fenestras animi pulsans ut recipiatur.

Sub quibus radiis divini solis duo sunt hominum genera: unum quod nolit sapere quantum potest, alterum quod velit eciam plusquam potest. Iste improbe et sponte delectatus malo et tenebris recusat lucem; hic superbius | modum lucis sue excurrit, unde sequitur non solum illum non f8v accipere quod velit, sed eciam amittere quod habuit. Nam, ut admonet Paulus, non plus sapere quam oportet, sed sapere ad sobrietatem, ne dicentes nos sapientes esse stulti facti fiamus. Accepta divina luce, si tibi confidis incipisque molire aliqua tecum, tum extinguis omnia. Quod habes auge qua racione accepisti; id est, credendo confide deo, nil tibi. Sine divinum radium in te augere; sis tu ei subiectus humilis et paciens: hoc quidem est aperire te ad lucem. In ipsa luce si confisus tibi aliqualiter superbias, claudis te ne ingrediatur lux: et in tenebris tuis ambulans nescis quo vadis.

Pontifex quem illuminavit christus solis instar ex pulpito fulget luce veritatis et diradiat evangelicum verbum pariter universis. Clamat, surge

8 SP: "r" in "sobrietatem" inserted as superscript.

enlightening spiritual natures, pouring himself out to all in a similar and equal manner[120] without interruption, standing at the soul's door and windows, knocking that he may be admitted.[121]

Under these beams of the divine sun exist two kinds of men: one that does not wish to discern as much as possible; another that wishes [to discern] even more than it can. Wickedly and willfully attracted to evil and darkness, the former refuses the light; the latter, filled with greater pride, exceeds the measure of its light, whence it occurs that not only does it not receive what it desires but also loses what it has possessed.[122] For, as Paul warns, do not "be more wise than it behoveth" but be "wise unto sobriety,"[123] lest calling ourselves wise we may be made fools.[124] Having received the divine light, you destroy everything when you trust to yourself and begin to strive for some goal. Increase what you have by that means you have received; that is, trust by believing in God, not at all in yourself. Permit the divine light to intensify within you; you must be subject to it, humble and patient—that is to reveal yourself truly to the light. In the light, if trusting to yourself, you act proudly in any way, you close yourself off so that the light may not enter, and wandering in your darkness you know not where you go.

The pontifex, whom Christ, the counterpart of the sun, has enlightened, gleams from the pulpit with the light of truth and disperses rays[125] of the

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[120] Equaliter: rare usage. Colet's idea of God's equal flow seems to conflict with Dionysius's hierarchic structures. Colet's view emphasizes one's response to divine illumination rather than the gradated flow of shaping grace that proceeds from God to all creation.

[121] The figure of God (or Christ) as "sol justitia" (Mal 4:2) is one of Colet's favorites though used only once by Dionysius, who includes it in a list of names used by theologians to "reveal something of God himself" through the uplifting power of their "immaterial archetypes" (DCH 2 [PG 3. 144C–D]). In commenting on this passage in CCH Colet warns against using sublime metaphors to establish "one-to one correspondences" with God; instead, hierarchs are to maintain a distinction between sign and signified, a view that perhaps informs Colet's odd juxtaposition of imagery of light with that of God's rapping at the doors of the soul. The knocking recalls but inverts the agency of humanity found in Matt 7:7; Lk 11:9, where Christ enjoins his disciples to knock; the image of God's knocking on the doors of the soul anticipates God's (unsuccessful) knocking in John Donne's Holy Sonnet 10.

[122] DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 400A).

[123] Rom 12:3: "dico enim per gratiam quae data est mihi omnibus qui sunt inter vos non plus sapere quam oportet sapere sed sapere ad sobrietatem unicuique sicut Deus divisit mensuram fidei."

[124] Cf. Rom 1:22: "dicentes enim se esse sapientes stulti facti sunt."

[125] Diradiat> Latham, c. 1500. Imagery of light in relation to the sight of the mind runs throughout DEH 2.3 (PG 3. 400A–B).

qui dormis et exurge a mortuis: et illuminabit te christus. Illius oracio eloquia casta sunt argentum igne examinatum purgatum septuplum. Pontifex ipse ignis factus a deo est, qui lucet veritate, qui calet bonitate, qui benignitate edocet omnes. Qui vero didicit se in tenebris esse – omnia que
g1r arguuntur a lu-|mine manifestantur; omne quod manifestatur lumen est – quum is, se agnoscens, illuminatur, deinde querit altius provehi in lumine, et ad illuminatiorem se accedit aliquem fidelem.

Sed in hoc sensibili ordine, cogita simul ordinem spiritalem. Hic accessus ad fidelem est humilitas et summissio animi divino radio. Quod, quum fit suppliciter et simpliciter, e vestigio homo ille contactus divina luce consignatur in sortem sanctorum. Accipit enim lumen, quoddam signum et notam, quod est ex grege dominico. Hanc dei pastoris quasi ovis consignationem vocat Paulus in epistola ad Ephesios pignus hereditatis; In quo, inquit, et vos, quum audissetis verbum dei et veritatis (evangelium salutis vestre), recepistis; in quo et credentes signati estis spiritu promissionis sancto, qui est pignus hereditatis nostre in redemptionem acquisitionis,

evangelic word equally among all.[126] He cries, "Rise thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall enlighten thee."[127] His words "are pure words, as silver tried by the fire, purged from the earth refined seven times."[128] The pontifex, who was made as fire by God, shines with truth, burns with goodness, and teaches all with kindness. Indeed he who has learned he exists in darkness–"all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light; for all that is made manifest is light"[129]—when he, perceiving himself, is enlightened [by the evangelic rays], he subsequently seeks to be conveyed higher in the light, and he goes to one of the faithful who is more illumined than himself.[130]

But, within this order of things that are perceptible, consider at the same time a spiritual order. This approach to the faithful expresses the humility and submission of the soul to divine light. On this account, when it is done humbly and simply, that man touched by the divine light is sealed instantly to the lot of the holy.[131] For he is a recipient of the light as a certain seal and stamp of the lord's flock.[132] In the epistle to the Ephesians, Paul calls this affixing of God's seal, like a shepherd's for sheep, a pledge of the inheritance; "In whom," he says, "you also, when you had heard the word of God and truth, (the gospel of your salvation), you received it; in whom also believing, you were signed with the holy Spirit of promise, Who is the pledge of our inheritance, unto the redemption of acquisition, unto

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[126] Cf. DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 400B), which emphasizes the proportional distribution of grace among the ecclesiastical ranks, in contrast to the simultaneity and equality suggested by Colet's *pariter*.

[127] Eph 5:14: "propter quod dicit surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis et inluminabit tibi Christus."

[128] Ps 11:7: "eloquia Domini eloquia casta argentum igne examinatum probatum terrae purgatum septuplum."

[129] Eph 5:13: "omnia autem quae arguuntur a lumine manifestantur omne enim quod manifestatur lumen est."

[130] In contrast to DEH 2. 3 (PG 3. 400C), which makes the initiate a passive recipient of the mediation of the hierarchy, Colet's phrasing emphasizes the initiate's agency in moving toward one who may assist him.

[131] DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 400D).

[132] Colet's running comparison of the baptismal "seal" to a pastor's brand for a sheep seems to be an Anglicized interpolation as well as a link to the passage in Ephesians: see DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 400D–401A). Citing this passage in Dionysius, Wear and Dillon explain his appropriation of the Platonic concept of the "seal" or *sphragis* as the means of describing the implanting of the soul at creation and its awakening through divine activity (theurgy): "Using the term *sphragis*, Dionysius explains that the sacrament impresses [*apotupôutai*] its mark on all souls who ritually partake in it—the divine hierarch receives the divine light as a *sphragis* in accordance with his status as fully-initiated" (108, citing *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl [Leipzig, 1903–1906], I. 4. 32–33).

in laudem glorie ipsius. Hanc insignitionem illa pontificis manus impositio denotat. Ut enim ille a pontificis manu tangitur, ita simul a dei dextra manu, qui filius est dei, tactus consignatur, cuius digitus in hominis capite spiritus sanctus est.

Tunc homo ille feliciter est in conscriptis ad salutem, cuius imago g1v est illa in-|scriptio nominis eius in cathologo fidelium a sacerdotibus. In prima illa ecclesia conscripti erant omnes qui per graciam in fidem consignati fuerint. Quod postea, infusa hominum turba in nomen magis christianum quam in rem ipsam, in sinceriori ecclesie parte duntaxat, uti multa alia que erant communia universis, cepit reservari. Deus pater ille, quem Dionysius vocat susceptorem, eciam conscribitur: Scribitur qui se offert. Scribitur qui alium offert deo; propterea quod gaudet pater in celis super recuperatam ovem centesimam magis quam supra nonaginta novem que non erraverunt. Is modo receptus in simplicitatem christi, unam quandam et individuam vivendi racionem sursum duntaxat profiteatur oportet, quia, ut ait Dionysius, non est fas ut is, qui illius quod unum est ceperit consortium, dividuas habeat vitas: Nam in solam unam partem tendat necesse est. Nemo enim mittens manum suam ad aratrum et reaspiciens retro aptus est regno dei. Nemo servus potest duobus dominis servire: aut enim unum odiet et alterum diliget; aut uni adherebit et alterum contemnet. Divisus et simplex simul esse non potest. Christianitas est professio simplicitatis in g2r | quam trahitur homo ut a multitudine in simplicitatem. Non patitur christus simplex duplicem tunicam. In eius veste nuptiali si vis esse, faciendum est ut nudus accedas, ut eam induas

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4 spiritus sanctus] BL, SP spiritussanctus] L Spiritus sanctus **5** BL: "homo" inserted in line by a correcting hand. **9** BL, SP duntaxat] L dumtaxat **10** BL, SP uti] L ut **10** L: omits "universis" **12** Scribitur] BL: an annotator has inscribed the capital in the two instances of Scribitur, over a lower-case ſ. **13** BL supra] SP, L super **17** BL: Nam inserted, with capital, by correcting hand **19** reaspiciens] BL: prefix re- inserted as superscript by correcting hand **20** uni] BL, SP, L unum; Vulgate uni **21** simul BL] SP: six minims superscript] L omits **21** BL potest] SP pote, followed by space for about three characters] L pote[st] **24** veste nuptiali] BL, SP veste nuptiale] L nuptiali veste

the praise of his glory."[133] That imposition of the pontifex's hand designates exactly this distinguishing mark. For just as that one is touched by the hand of the pontifex, so he is sealed at once by the right hand of God, who is God's son, whose finger placed on the man's head is the holy Spirit.

Then the man joyfully exists among those enrolled for salvation, whose image is the inscription of his name by the priests in the catalog of the faithful. In that early church had been enrolled all who were sealed into the faith by grace. As a tumult of men poured in later, more Christian in name than in deed, that [custom], like many others that were common to the whole, came to be preserved only in the purer portion of the church. The godfather, whom Dionysius calls a guardian, is also enrolled: He who offers himself is inscribed; he who offers another to God is inscribed because the father in the heavens above rejoices more over the hundredth recovered sheep than over the ninety-nine who did not stray. Received now into Christ's simplicity, he should at least profess a certain unity and the undivided principle of living above, since, as Dionysius says, it is not lawful that he [who] has undertaken a partnership in that which is one may have divided lives.[134] For it is essential that he hold to one side only. "For no one setting his hand to the plow and looking backwards again[135] is fit for God's kingdom."[136] "No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or he will hold to the one, and despise the other."[137] One cannot be both divided and simple at the same time.[138] Christianity is a declaration of simplicity into which a man is drawn as from multiplicity to simplicity. Simple [himself], Christ permits no twofold tunic.[139] If you wish to be in his wedding garment, it must be done in such a way that you approach naked, that you put it on, set aside your former way of living

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[133] Eph: 1:13–14: "in quo et vos cum audissetis verbum veritatis evangelium salutis vestrae in quo et credentes signati estis Spiritu promissionis Sancto qui est pignus hereditatis nostrae in redemptionem adquisitionis in laudem gloriae ipsius."

[134] DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 401A): "whoever enters into communion with the One cannot proceed to live a divided life, especially if he hopes for a real participation in the One."

[135] Reaspiciens, apparently Colet's coinage.

[136] Lk 9:62: "ait ad illum Iesus nemo mittens manum suam in aratrum et aspiciens retro aptus est regno Dei."

[137] Lk 16:13: "nemo servus potest duobus dominis servire aut enim unum odiet et alterum diliget aut uni adherebit et alterum contemnet."

[138] Colet introduces language of multiplicity and simplicity common in the Florentine Academy as well as the Hellenic Platonists and Dionysius. See, for example, Ficino's circle of the many and the one outlined in the commentary on the *Philebus*, 16. 169–173.

[139] Lupton, p. 72n, plausibly suggests that Colet alludes to Christ's abjuration of the commissioned disciples to bring no "second coat" (Matt 10:10; Mk 6:9).

pristinamque vivendi formam deponas, ut subeas eam que christi est. Id velit et significat quod exuit vestes omnes is qui se confert in christum; quod exspuit et exsufflat ad occidentem et magna protestacione abrenunciat quicquid est iniquitatis; quod se in orientem nudum iam penitus obiicit radiis exorti solis iusticie, id, inquam, significat ut purgatus et simplex simplicem et purum divinum radium capiat et vestem lucis ac iusticie induat quam in Christo contexit gracia sancti spiritus: ut in luce fulgens vestimento preclaro iusticie celesti maiestate incedat in hac tenebrosa valle, per arma iusticie a dextris et a sinistris, omnibus porrigens suas candidas manus plenas bonitatis ipse semper bonus et sui similis, nequiens aliud atque benefacere: nocentibus innocens, in malis pacientia invicta, ut continua actione boni inviolatam iusticie vestem tenuisse videatur. Hec est candida illa vestis quam quisque lotus sancte regeneracionis lavachro induit, vestis sancte et immaculate iusticie, in qua semper
g2v versus orien-|tem magis atque magis in incrementum lucis eundem est, nullo facto respectu in occidentem et mortis regionem, ne instar uxoris Loth in statuam salis convertamur.

Quod autem totus a sacerdotibus deungitur certamen significat et colluctationem, quam non habemus adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritalia nequitie in celestibus, dei armatura quam unctio illa significat, qui spiritus est sanctus, quo vegetiora membra reddantur. Dimicandum est ut vincas; vincendum ut coroneris. Pugna in illo qui in te pugnat et vincit, Iesus christus,

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3 exsufflat] BL: prefix “ex” inserted as superscript by correcting hand before “sufflat” **5** BL: “id inquam significat” inserted as superscript by correcting hand, possibly Colet’s **6** BL ac] SP, L et **7** sancti spiritus] BL, SP sanctispiritus] L sancti Spiritus **9** BL, L sinistris] SP senistris **15** BL, SP incrementum] L merementum **17** convertamur] BL: no end punctuation **22** L vegetiora] BL, SP vigetiora

to advance to Christ's.[140] He who goes over to Christ would wish this, and he signals to [those gathered] when he has all clothing removed; when he has spit and breathes to the west in despight and by solemn declaration renounces whatever is iniquitous;[141] when he presently exposes himself so utterly naked towards the east, to the rays of the risen sun of justice—that, I say, signifies that, purified and simple, he may receive the simple and pure divine ray and may put on the garb of light and justice that the grace of the holy Spirit has sheltered in Christ. As a result, shining in light, he walks in this dark valley in the beautiful garment of justice in heavenly majesty, "by the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left,"[142] extending his radiant hands full of goodness, always good and like himself, unable to do anything other than to do good: innocent to the guilty, among evils patient, unconquered, so that through continuous action of the good he may be seen to have preserved inviolate the vestment of justice.[143] This is that shining white garment which everyone washed in the baptism of holy regeneration puts on, a garment of holy and unspotted justice, in which [one] is always farther and farther to the east, toward the same increase of light, in no way looking back to the west and the region of death, lest like Lot's wife we be turned to a pillar of salt.[144]

Moreover, his being entirely anointed[145] by the priests signifies both a contest and a struggle that we have not "against flesh and blood; but against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places"[146] in the armor of God, which [conflict] that annointing signifies, which [anointing] is the holy spirit, whereby our members may become more vigorous.[147] You must fight so that you may win; you must win so that you may be crowned. Fight in him who fights within you and conquers, Jesus Christ, who has declared war on

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[140] Colet links the spiritual sense of Dionysius's baptismal garment to that of the parable of the wedding, Matt 22:11–14.

[141] DEH, 2 (PG 3. 401B), without reference to the initiate's spitting.

[142] 2 Cor 6:7: "per arma iustitiae a dextris et sinistris."

[143] Cf. "habitus" above.

[144] Gen 19:26. Colet's allusion to the narrative of Lot reorients and familiarizes Dionysius's admonition to avoid "disastrous backsliding" during the "sustained effort to reach the One"—a backsliding evident to those with "an understanding of the hierarchies" (DEH, 2. 3. [PG 3. 401B–C]).

[145] Deungitur, apparently Colet's coinage.

[146] Eph 6:12: "adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus."

[147] Colet's military imagery, rooted in Eph 6:11 ff., replaces the imagery of the athletic contest in DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 401D–404A).

qui indixit bellum morti et pugnat in omnibus. Ille est qui vincit in nobis et nos in illo, uncti spiritu sancto, qui, debellato et everso imperio mortis, in regno lucis ipse sit omnia in omnibus. Pugnandi regula est imitari ducem, qui dominus fortis et potens est in prelio. Nec christianis aliud bellandi genus licet suscipere, quam docuit ipse; qui non habemus hostes et inimicos nisi peccatum, quod est semper contra nos, et peccatorum suasores, malignos spiritus; quibus victis in nobis, tunc armati armatura
g3r dei ex charitate succurramus aliis, eciam si il-|li non paciantur, eciam si stulti non videant servitutem, eciam si liberatores suos necare velint. Ita amare hominem ut in illius curanda salute moriare beatissimum est.

Trina vero illa immersio, invocata trinitate, pulchra est mortis figuratio et depositionis carnis carnaliumque cogitacionum a mente et omnium peccatorum a quibus se separari et mori in perpetuum profitetur qui christo credit. Qui mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel; qui autem vivit, vivit deo. Ut mors est depositio corporis, ita spiritalis baptismus depositio est vite corporalis, quam obruitio illa totius hominis in aquis significat, qua admonentur se mortuos cum christo esse et quasi sepultos triduo

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3 omnia in] BL: "-a in" by correcting hand, apparently Colet's, fills gap in line **4** BL, SP: prelio] L praelio **7** BL: "nobis, tunc" by correcting hand fills gap in line **13** L in perpetuum] BL, SP imperpetuum

death and fights within everyone. He it is who conquers within us and we in him, anointed by the holy Spirit who, having overthrown and subdued the empire of death, should be all in all in the kingdom of light.[148] A rule of combat is to imitate the leader, the "Lord who is strong and mighty in battle."[149] No other form of fighting is permitted us Christians to undertake than he himself has taught—we who have no enemy or foe except sin (which is ever opposed to us) and malicious spirits, persuaders to sins; the which having been overcome within us we ought then, armed with the armor of God, come to the aid of others out of charity, even if those do not permit it, even if, being foolish, they do not perceive their servitude, even if they may wish to kill their liberators.[150] Most blessed it is so to love a man as to die in caring for his salvation.[151]

That threefold immersion, through the invoked Trinity, is a beautiful figure of death, of the putting off the flesh and carnal thoughts from the mind and of all the sins that one who believes in Christ professes to be severed from and dead to forever.[152] He who "has died to sin has died once for all"; yet he "who lives, lives in God."[153] Just as death is the putting off of the flesh, so spiritual baptism is the putting off of corporeal life, as that immersion of the whole man in the waters signifies, and by this they are admonished that they have died with Christ and as it were

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[148] Eph 1:23: "quae est corpus ipsius plenitudo eius qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur." Colet customarily uses the Neoplatonic (and Galenic) phrase "all in all" to describe the sympathetic relation between head and members in the mystical body.

[149] Ps. 23:8: "Dominus fortis et potens Dominus potens in proelio."

[150] Cf. Eph 6:12. Colet's recurring military metaphor permits him to represent God's opponents as a positive evil in spiritual warfare, in contrast to the privative evil of Dionysius. Colet makes this demonic force explicit in the supplement he appends to his comments on the *Celestial Hierarchy* (CCH 16.194–196). On humanists' predilection for peace, see Robert P. Adams, *The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives on Humanism, War, and Peace 1496–1535* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1962); Ben Lowe considers the transformation of discourse about peace from early-century idealism to mid-Tudor pragmatism, "Peace Discourse and Mid-Tudor Foreign Policy," *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse, and Disguise*, ed. Paul A. Fideler and T.F. Mayer (London: Routledge, 1992), 111–142. Gleason describes Colet's run-in with Henry VIII on the question of just warfare, 256–259.

[151] Cf. Jn 3:16: "sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam."

[152] See DEH, 2 (PG 3. 404B–C) on the initiate's "triple immersion," interpreted allegorically as a reference to Christ's "three days and nights in the tomb" without Colet's reference to the Trinity.

[153] Rom 6:10: "quod enim mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel quod autem vivit vivit Deo."

cum christo. Quod vult trina illa dimersio: ut deposito christi corpore, tota nostra corporalis vita deponatur, ut resurgamus iusti in iusto christo morituri: ut aliquando eciam corpore in eodem resurgamus in gloriam. Primum emergendum est in iustam vitam; tum exurgendum est in gloriosam. Mors delet mortem; gracia procreat iusticiam; iusticia parit gloriam. Ut moriamur peccato, oportet iustus moriatur pro nobis. Ut autem vivamus iusticie, oportet iusti resurgentis gracia susti-|neamur. Ut denique g3v mortui ipsi iusti resurgamus, oportet divina virtute et potentia resuscitemur.

Resurgunt hi quidem qui in regenerationis lavachro, in morte christi, depositis viciis, incedunt, perseverantes usque in finem in veste candida iusticie sine macula; quique non fallunt confirmationis unctionem, que postremo adhibetur a pontifice, ut confirmatum in gracia et perfectum significet. Cui sic perfecto membro christi, in genere suo in unionem cum corpore in alimentum membri, sacrum eucharistie pabulum ministratur, quo intelligitur eum et in corpore esse et in corpore ali ac spiritaliter enutriri. Nemo perfecte membrum est corporis christi, donec sacre communionis et vitalis alimonie particeps fuerit, cuius participatione coalescit in corpus. In prima ecclesia baptizati omnes et simul confirmati sacrosancta unctione sine dilatione in communionem divini pabuli adsciscibantur.

Est animadvertendum Dionysium de confirmatione loqui sic ut non id distinctum sacramentum sed quiddam ad baptismi completionem esse

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4 exurgendum] SP: "r" after exu- added as superscript **5** BL, L procreat] SP percat **11** BL: full stop (".") after finem **20** dilatione] BL, SP, L delatione **21** confirmatione] BL: -irmatione as palimpsest in correcting hand, apparently Colet's.

are entombed with Christ for three days.[154] This is the meaning of that threefold immersion: that when Christ's dead body is brought down and buried, our entire bodily existence should be put off that we, prepared to die in Christ the just, may rise again as just, that at last we may even rise again in the same body to glory.[155] First one must come forth to a just life; then he must rise up[156] to a glorious life. Death blots out death; grace begets justice; justice gives birth to glory. That we may die to sin, it is necessary that one who is just should die for us. That we may live to justice, it is necessary that we be sustained by the grace of the Just One, rising again. That, finally, we [being] dead may rise justified, it is necessary that we be revived by divine virtue and power.

Surely those rise again who stride forth in the baptism of regeneration, in Christ's death—persevering to the end in a gleaming, spotless robe of justice, having put off sins—and who do not betray the unction of confirmation that the pontifex afterward applies to signify one confirmed in grace and perfected.[157] To which member of Christ, so perfect in his kind, is ministered the sacred food of the eucharist[158] for union with the body, for the member's nourishment, whence it is to be understood he both exists within the body and, in the body, is nourished and fed spiritually. No one is perfectly a member of Christ's body until he has been a partaker of holy communion and the food of life, through participation wherein he becomes one with the body. In the early church all those baptized and at the same time confirmed by the holy anointing were admitted without delay to the communion of divine nourishment.

It is to be observed that Dionysius is speaking about confirmation in such way that he describes it not as a distinct sacrament but a certain

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154 DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 404B); cf. Mt 12:40.

155 Colet adds to DEH this reference to the glorified body, probably to counter the contrary implication in his source: "the [deceased] body is hidden in earth and undergoes a change from its corporeal shape and is withdrawn from its human appearance" (PG 3. 404B).

156 "Exurgendum" > exsurgendum.

157 DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 404C) includes unction as a part of the baptismal rite signifying the initiate's perfection. As is typical of Colet in CEH and SE, he takes every opportunity to include doctrinal nomenclature for rites Dionysius describes differently or omits.

158 DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 404D). Colet adds to his source imagery related to nutrition within the mystical body. See also CCC 10: "In the blessed cup and the broken bread is a saving communication of the true body and blood itself of Jesus Christ, shared by many that in it they may be one" (215) and the dual physiological and spiritual senses of the Galenic maxim that follows: "Whatever it be that a man partakes of, he becomes that sort of thing" (217).

doceat, ut id et baptismus solum unum sit sacramentum. Est eciam non
g4r minus notandum quod erat in more prisce ecclesie | ut omnes baptizati
statim communicent, ut communi nutricione ex christi corpore mistico
esse censeantur. Alioquin, tametsi baptizati, ex corpore videntur non esse.
Nam communicatio illa colligat et convincit communi nutricione, et per-
ficit extrema completione. Ideo erat quondam impartita eciam baptizatis
infantibus, de quibus hoc legitur in antiquis misteriorum voluminibus: si
episcopus adest statim confirmari oportet postea communicari. Episco-
pus si presens non fuerit, antequam lactetur infans aut aliquid gustaverit
communicet eum sacerdos de corpore et sanguine domini ante missam
eciam si necessitas ingruat, ut homo iam in christo expurgatus illumina-
tus et perfectus sit. Locio purgat; crismatis posterior inunctio illuminat
et nitidum facit; eucharistia implet et perficit in perfecto christo, in quo
perfecta sunt omnia, in quo esse non potest quod non est perfectum.

[something] for baptism's completion with the result that it and baptism ought to be a single, unified sacrament. Yet no less must it be observed that the custom in the early church was that all the baptized would immediately take communion[159] so that they may be regarded as existing by means of a common nutrition derived from Christ's mystical body. Otherwise, though baptized, they are not considered to be from the [mystical] body. For that communication joins and binds through a shared nutrition, and it perfects by a final completion. Therefore at one time it was imparted even to baptized infants, and about them this is read in ancient books on eucharistic rites:[160] if a bishop[161] is present, [the infant] ought to be confirmed immediately, then made a communicant. If a bishop cannot be present, prior to mass a priest should give the infant communion of the Lord's body and blood before it is suckled or has ingested anything, even though necessity should threaten, so that [the infant] immediately may become a man purified, illuminated, and perfected in Christ. Washing purifies; later the anointing with chrism illumines and makes brilliant; the eucharist fulfills and perfects in a perfected Christ, in whom all things are perfected, in whom nothing that is not perfect can exist.[162]

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[159] Communicent; here and in the next several sentences Colet plays on the sacramental implications of "communio."

[160] Colet's "misteriorum" joins an emphasis on ritual to sacred writings and esoteric knowledge. Dionysius mentions infant baptism and infant participation in communion briefly at DEH, 7. 3. 11 (PG 3. 565D), there defending the practice from unidentified objections founded on infants' inability to understand the symbols' meaning. Lupton, p. 76n, speculates that Colet's reference to "ancient books on eucharistic rites" or "sacramentaries" may refer to Alcuin's *De Sabbato sancti Paschae*, which emphasizes that the infant should receive communion before ingesting any food or milk, but Colet's immediate source is almost certainly Traversarius's supplemental scholium to DEH 2. 3: "Quod adhuc in antiquis mysteriorum voluminibus etiam de infantibus hoc modo legitur. Si episcopus adest statim confirmari oportet: postea communicari. Episcopus si presens non fuerit: antequam lactet infans aut aliquid gustaverit communicet eum sacerdos de corpore et sanguine domini ante missam etiam si necessitas ingruit" (TEH, f. 26^{v}).

[161] Episcopus.

[162] Colet's parallel order of baptism / purification, confirmation or anointing / illumination, and eucharist / perfection, all contained within the baptismal rite, vaguely parallels Dionysius's at DEH, 2 (PG 3. 404B–D; cf. TEH f. 26^{v}–27^{r}); in the next chapter Dionysius clearly establishes that synaxis, the "sacrament of sacraments," is the "high point"—the ritualistic as well as soteriological climax of other sacraments: "I submit that the perfection of the other hierarchical symbols is only achieved by way of the divine and perfecting gifts of Communion" (DEH 3. 1 [PG 3. 424C, 424D]). In the subsequent paragraph, Colet departs from the antiquarian interest found in Traversarius's gloss by emphasizing Christ as the source of perfection, an identification not explicit in Dionysius at this place and one that anticipates the next sentence's apostrophe in the demonstrative mode.

O bone deus hic licet cernere quam expurgatus quamque purus qui profiteatur christum sit oportet, quam intime et penitus lotus, quam candidus, quam nitidus, quam prorsus sine labe et macula, quam denique pro capacitate sua ipso christo plenus et perfectus – in quo deinceps vigeat et
g4v valeat integrum et | sanum membrum illius. Est enim christus caput ecclesie ipsa integritas et perfectio; ex quo, ut Paulus scribit ad Colocenses, totum corpus, per nexus et coniunctiones, subministratum et constructum crescit in augmentum dei, ut deus reluceat in quoque simplici sereno et solido, ut constanter et clare et perfecte in christo iam agnoscant deum et colant, utque sit quisque sic olens ac referens christum in se solum, ut christus in omnibus omnia esse videatur. Quapropter, si ex baptismate consurreximus cum christo, que sunt christi queramus ubi christus est in dextera dei sedens. Que sursum sunt sapiamus, non que super terram. Mortui queramus vitam nostram, que abscondita est, cum christo in deo. Que est gloria que apparebit nobis, quum christus in quo spem habemus gloriosus apparuerit. Interea qui profitemur christum Iesus ipse christus faciat ut simus et sapiamus et agamus omnia que nostra sunt professione digna.

[CAP.III.1]

[H]ec communio in corpore et sanguine Iesu christi est omnium sacramentorum consummatio. Omnia quidem sacramenta in communionem
g5r trahunt, sed ni-|hil ad hoc in quo communicatio et counitio est admirabilis, quum plures in uno participato evadunt unum. Ad quod aliis

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7–8 BL, SP constructum (as in Vulgate)] L conjunctum **9** L: omits first et in clause **11** SP: "in" inserted as superscript **19** III.1] BL: in red annotating hand, "De sancta Communione / Synaxi" **22** BL: u" in counitio inserted as palimpsest by correcting hand] SP conuitio] L convictio

O good God, here one may perceive how purified and pure everyone who has proclaimed Christ ought to be, how he who has proclaimed Christ ought to be cleansed and pure, how inwardly and completely washed, how radiant, how gleaming, how absolutely without stain or blemish, finally how full of Christ himself according to one's capacity and being perfected—in whom at last he may thrive and grow, as his sound and healthy member. For Christ is head of the church, health and perfection itself; from whom, as Paul writes to the Colossians, "the whole body, by joints and bands, being supplied with nourishment and compacted, groweth unto the increase of God," that God may reflect a gleam in everyone simple, bright, and firm; that always they recognize and worship God constantly, clearly, and perfectly in Christ; and that each may be so fragrant and represent within himself only Christ, that Christ may be seen to be all in all.[163] Accordingly, if we have arisen from baptism with Christ, we ought to seek the things that are Christ's where Christ is, sitting at God's right hand. We should be acquainted with those things that exist on high, not those on earth. Being dead, we should seek our life, which is hidden, with Christ in God. That is the glory that will appear to us when Christ, in whom we have hope, has appeared in glory. Meanwhile to those of us who profess Christ may Jesus Christ himself bring it about that we may be and perceive and do all things worthy of our profession.

3.1. On Holy Communion or Synaxis[164]

This communion in the body and blood of Jesus Christ is the consummate union of all sacraments. Surely all the sacraments lead to a communion, though in no way comparable to this, wherein there is a wondrous communication and co-unition[165] when the many, by participating in unity, become as one. Men are disposed for it by the other sacraments, which

[163] Col 2:19: "non tenens caput ex quo totum corpus per nexus et coniunctiones subministratum et constructum crescit in augmentum Dei." The fragrance of the Christian must derive from the anointing; see DEH, 2. 3 (PG 3. 404C).

[164] Dionysius's Greek σύναξις literally means "gathering" or "assembly," a sense Colet, following Dionysius, makes little of; instead, both emphasize the sacrament's soteriological importance as an action that draws the fragments of a divided life to unity: although "every sacredly initiating operation draws our fragmented lives together into a one-like divinization," the eucharist is the "high point" in that it produces "a spiritual gathering to the One for him who receives the sacrament" (DEH, 3.1 [3. 424C–D]).

[165] Counitio, apparently Colet's coinage, but see Latham for the verb "counio."

sacramentis disponuntur homines, que antecedunt, ut hoc compleantur. Omnia sacramenta id agunt ut unitas in hominibus similitudo et simplicitas extet. In hoc provehimur aliis sacramentis: eucharistia et synaxi perficimur. Quocirca quicquid magni misterii agitur, id hoc sacramento solet compleri, sine quo inchoata et imperfecta sunt omnia mysteria quibus homines iniciantur. Que omnia quum id efficiant, ut homines formentur in unum – ipsi ad unum uniti – quumque hoc maxime assequitur synaxis, ideo ei peculiariter id nominis sortitum est, sicut regeneracionis sacramento illuminationis nomen precipue convenit. In omnibus sacramentis hec tria sunt purgare illuminare perficere. Sed perfectio synaxi illuminatio regenerationi attribuitur. In hac enim primum lumen capit homo, quo incipit cernere veritatem. Hinc a Dionysio baptismus sacramentum illuminationis appellatur. Tactus enim divino radio revocatus in deum respicit. Pontificis manus impositio id significat. Respicit quidem
g5v lumen resiliens in deum ut David inquit in lumine tuo vi | debimus lumen.

[III.2]

[P]ontifex primum ad altare sanctam orationem facit, quam arbitror dominicam fuisse. Altare fumat incenso, tum totum templum. Deinde reversus ad altare una cum sacerdotio reliquo concinit hymnos et psalmos

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6 L: omits "homines" **6** L iniciantur] BL, SP iniiciantur **12–13** sacramentum illuminationis] BL: sacramentum illuminationis underscored. **15** resiliens] BL, SP, L resiliente **16** III.2] BL: "Missa pro communione" inserted between sections by red annotating hand

precede [it] that they may be completed by this one. All sacraments have as their aim that unity, likeness, and simplicity become visible among men. To this we are brought by other sacraments; by the eucharist and synaxis we are perfected. Wherefore whatsoever great rite is enacted ordinarily comes to completion through this sacrament, lacking which all the rites by which men are initiated are incomplete and imperfect. And since they all bring it about that men are fashioned into one—themselves united to one[166]—and since synaxis attains this best, that name has especially been allotted to it, just as the name of illumination is particularly fitting for the sacrament of regeneration. These three are in all sacraments: to purify, illumine, and perfect. But to synaxis is assigned perfection, illumination to regeneration. For in that [sacrament of regeneration] man first takes possession of the light by which he begins to perceive the truth.[167] Hence Dionysius calls baptism the sacrament of illumination. For touched by the divine ray, called back to God, one looks back. The imposition of the pontifex's hand signifies that.[168] Indeed one turns his gaze upon light springing back[169] to God; as David says, "in thy light we shall see light."[170]

Chapter 3.2 The Mass before Communion

The pontifex first offers a holy prayer at the altar, which I judge to have been the Lord's Prayer. He incenses the altar and then the entire church. Then, returning to the altar, he, together with other priests, sings hymns

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166 Colet subtly distinguishes unification from identity through the "in unum … ad unum" wordplay.

167 Following Dionysius's lead at DEH 3.1, (PG 3. 424C–425B), Colet links the sacraments as actions to what Dionysius in DCH 7.3 calls the participation or "reception of an understanding of the Godhead" (PG 3. 209C) as purification, illumination, and perfection, later establishing that all angelic (as well as ecclesiastical) beings have both a primary participation according to their order (e.g., perfecting Seraphim, illuminating Cherubim, and purifying thrones) as well as a secondary participation according to their rank within the order. Here, Colet follows and develops as a principle Dionysius's suggestion about the sacraments, in Dionysius's ecclesiastical hierarchy (but not Colet's) the topmost order.

168 See CEH 2.3, above.

169 Cf. DEH 3. 2 (PG 3. 425A–B), where Dionysius speaks of his own conversion: "it was [the sacrament of divine rebirth] which first gave me the gift of sight. The light coming first from this led me toward the vision of the other sacred things" ("attamen haec illa est quae primum mihi visum impertivit, perque illius lucem principialorem ad caetera quoque sacra contuenda lumen accipio").

170 Ps 35:10: "quoniam apud te fons vitae in lumine tuo videbimus lumen."

daviticos. Ministri deinde diaconique alius post alium ex sacra scriptura recitant quas lectiones vocavere.

Hic tum ex templo abigunt cathecuminos et energuminos et penitentes, quoniam non sunt digni ut mysteriis intersint.

Cathecumini autem sunt qui non adhuc iniciati sacris nec baptizati. Instruuntur ut baptizentur. Cathecheo enim instruo significat; unde qui instruuntur ut rite ad mysteria accedant cathecumini greco verbo nuncupantur, de quibus Paulus in Epistola ad Galathas Communicet, inquit, is, qui cathechizatur verbo, ei, qui se cathechizat, in omnibus bonis.

Energumini vero sunt acti a malignis spiritibus et vexati, quibus insedet magnopere potestas tenebrarum, a cuius vi et operatione actioneque
g6r energumini vocantur. Ener-|gio enim grecum verbum ago significat. Sub

6 BL enim] SP, L autem **12** Energio] Gk: ἐνεργέω

and the psalms of David. Next, one after another the ministers and deacons recite from holy scripture what they call "readings."

At this point they drive cathecumens, energumens, and penitents from the church because they are not worthy to be present at the mysteries.[171]

Cathecumens are those who up to this time are neither initiated in holy things nor baptized. They are being instructed so that they may be baptized.[172] *Catheceo* moreover means "I instruct"; whence those who are instructed that they may fitly proceed to the secret rites are called by the Greek word *cathecumeni*, of whom Paul [writes] in the Epistle to the Galatians: "let him that is instructed in the word, communicate to him that instructeth him, in all good things."[173]

Energumens, however, are moved and disturbed by evil spirits in whom the power of darkness rests,[174] from whose force and operation and action[175] they are called "energumens." For the Greek word *energeo*

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[171] DEH 3.2 (PG 3. 425C). In the following section, Colet's digression on cathecumens, energumens, and penitents anticipates Dionysius's later treatment of "the catechumens, the possessed, and the penitents," who are removed from the sacred precincts after the liturgy and prior to the performance of "sacred acts," discussed in DEH, 3. 3 (PG 3. 432C–436B); the topic is introduced again when the lowest ecclesiastical order is described at DEH, 6. 1 (PG 3. 532A).

[172] OED lists the following etymology for "catechumen": Gr. κατηχούμενος, "being instructed (in the rudiments of religion)", present participle passive of κατηχεῖν, "one being instructed (in the rudiments of religion)."

[173] Gal 6:6: "communicet autem is qui catecizatur verbum ei qui se catecizat in omnibus bonis." Colet's play with the Pauline "communicet" permits him to obscure the boundaries between "sacramental" speech and ritual.

[174] Insedet>insideo? See Latham.

[175] Colet assigns "evil spirits" a power symmetrical to the Spirit's in their ability to effect through power ("vi") the predisposed soul's external and internal motions, the "operatio" and "actio" respectively. In commenting on 1Corinthians 13, Colet writes of the Spirit's shaping power: "Nam hoc consilio plane agit Spiritus Dei, et versat materiam carnalemque hominem, ut is ad perfectum forme habitum perducatur. Inter versandum vero afficit hominem prius, et disponit, et preparat congruis qualitatibus que antecedunt, partim ut ordine procedat actio, partim ut experiatur in hiis quam homo humilis et patiens et materie inster est. Postremo species ipsa gratie et decoctionis flos emergit, pulchreque effulget. Hec florens forma charitas est, unde fructus operum procedit" (CCC 13. 258). For both evil and divine spirits, Colet seems to follow the distinction between "operatio" and "actio" outlined in Ficino's *Platonic Theology*, where pure "actio" is divine, immaterial, and linked to form and quality, in contrast to "operatio" that is action in bodies: "Ad qualitatem praecipue in exiguum redactam pertinent actio. Haec utique corpus non est, ac maxime cum ad punctum colligitur fit incorporea. Quo fit ut incorporalis naturae virtute, non ex materia corporum proveniat operatio" (1.2.9). In his treatise on the mystical body, Colet describes the "spiritalis operatio" within men that results from the power of the Spirit's essence, a manifestation of the pure action of God's essence (*De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* in *Opuscula Quaedam Theologica*, 189).

hoc nomine non solum sunt qui, in demonicum furorem correpti, insaniunt misere, sed preterea sceleratissimus quisque homo, qui vel mentitur religionem suam, vel repudiat ut apostate, vel quum christum professus est vitam tamen agit flagitiosissimam et notabilibus sceleribus contaminatam. Cuiusmodi sunt fornicatores venefici sicarii blasphemi et id genus reliqui, qui nominati christiani vitam agunt impiorum paganorum; et, quum appellantur a christo, quem falso profitentur, re ipsa ex regno immo ex servitute tenebrarum sunt. In quibus plus possunt principes tenebrarum et spiritalia nequitie in celestibus quam christus. Qui non absunt ab illis, qui a malignis spiritibus et satellitibus diaboli exagitantur in furiam, nisi gradibus quibusdam. In re enim ipsa sunt in ipsaque agitacione diabolica, et vita eorum scelestorum quoruncunque in diabolo quedam furia est. Ut autem plane insaneant et omnino sibi ipsis absint nihil deest, nisi ut ad consummatam insaniam aliquot gradus adhibeantur ab illo maligno spiritu qui defectionem, illam a luce inchoavit. In defectione ad deterius
g6v est inchoacio ab authore diabolo que | tendit in consummationem sicuti in perfectione ad melius, ab authore deo. Et quemadmodum hec desinit in furorem divinum: ita contra illa in furorem diabolicum. Sed furor divinus

13 absint] BL: "-int" inserted by correcting hand in erasure **14** SP, L omit "ut" **17** ab] BL: "-b" inserted by correcting hand at erasure

signifies "I act." Under this name are not only those who, seized with demonic fury, rave miserably, but also all the most corrupted men, who either disguise or repudiate their religion, as apostates, or who have professed Christ yet live a life most shameful and notorious, contaminated by impious actions. Of this sort are fornicators, sorcerers, murderers, blasphemers, and the rest of this kind, nominally Christians, who enact the life of impious pagans; and, when they are called by Christ, whom they falsely profess [to follow], they in fact are of the kingdom, nay rather from among the servants of darkness. In them the princes of darkness and "the spirits of wickedness in the high places" hold more sway than Christ.[176] They differ only in degree from those who are excited to madness by evil spirits and the companions of the devil. For in reality they exist in diabolic agitation itself, and the life of whichever wicked ones [exist] in the devil is itself a certain type of madness. Nothing is lacking for them to go completely mad and be entirely beside themselves, except that they still may be brought several degrees further to a consummate madness by that malign spirit who began this rebellion against the light.[177] In the rebellion toward the worse, the beginning is from the devil as initiator, and this tends toward completion just as in the perfection toward the better [the beginning is from God as initiator]. And in the same way as the latter gives over to divine furor, so too by contrast does the former to diabolical furor.[178] But

[176] Cf. Eph 6:12: "adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus."

[177] Colet's concern with the influence of positive, Satanic evil in this section goes beyond Dionysius's text, wherein evil tends to be understood as privative yet promoted by demons (DEH, 3. 3. 6 [PG 3. 433D]). In brief fashion here, Colet alludes to the angelology added to DCH. In CCH Chapter 16, Colet asserts that all angels were created "at the same time as the corporeal" (43); evil angels, led by Satan, voluntarily rebelled in pride and fell (43–44); they inhabit the "dense and murky atmosphere around us" and are obsessed with tempting men to sin; they are opposed by a guardian angel who is delegated to each person and who aids "weak man" to ward off temptation, yet the "malignant natures" make incessant war upon Christian men due to their envy, as David (in Colet's tropological reading of complaints against "enemies") attests (Ps 40:13–15, 70:1, 2). Devils have a "subtle" nature by which they prevaricate, but they can also afflict bodies by breaking limbs or causing diseases, affecting the senses, and deluding the mind with false images. According to CCH, the devil may be overcome by grace, angelic aid, the exercise of continual prayer and atonement, and imitation of Christ, who triumphed over the devil when tempted (45–47).

[178] This antithesis of divine and diabolical furor differs from the graduated procession downward from the furor of divine and physical beauty expressed in Colet's marginal notes in the All Soul's copy of Ficino's letter *De divino furore* in the *Epistolae* (1495), but the present passage recalls Colet's interest in "furor divinus" as well as the sharp contrast he draws in the marginalia to Ficino's *De raptu Pauli ad tertium caelum* between those who impiously "wish to rise to heaven" through their own efforts and those who are "drawn up by things above them" (Jayne 89–92, 106–111).

sapentia et sanitas quidem est in christo, a quo qui deciderint in se ipsos in defectionem in tenebras, quique suis viis delectantur, quia tunc deserti a deo statim et facile ad omne genus flagitii a malignis spiritibus ducuntur, energumini, id est, agitati, possunt appellari. Qui non est agitatus a spiritu dei ut filius dei sit, is necessario a diaboli spiritu agitatur ut filius diaboli sit. Utrinque enim assidue trahitur homo, ut quod velit sequatur. In quam vero se partem declinat, adsunt sedulo, qui tractum promovent, promotum perficiant. Sui est ipsius hominis eligere quorsum vult audireque suasores vel bonos vel malos inspiracionesque sequi vel has vel illas. Sed utram in partem tendit, undique sunt spiritales nature qui illum quo vult conducunt. In christo ergo quum aguntur divina misteria, non licet interesse cuique nisi qui agitur spiritu dei, qui sanctus est vita. Prophani
g7r vero cuiusmodi vero omnes possunt vocari energumini | longe a sacris et mysteriis abigantur. Nam ut David cecinit Domum dei decet sanctitudo. Hi ergo omnes, quorum improba vita declaravit eos in potestate diaboli esse – ex fructibus enim eorum cognoscetis eos – in prisca ecclesia a sacris arcebantur longe, ut id honoris diabolo non tribuatur, videlicet ut aliqui suorum divinis sacris intersint.

Penitentes autem erant quos huius errabunde et perdite vite penituit. Quique resipiscentes redierunt in ecclesiam, humiles prostrati ad pedes ecclesie, divinam misericordiam et graciam implorantes et peccata deflentes sua ac penam et mulctam peccatorum suorum flagitantes, ut publice errata sua ad omnium exemplum delugeant, utque pena temporali abeant ab eterna morte et eternam vitam redemant. Ecclesia, que personam christi agit, que quicquid aut solvit aut ligat ligatum id et solutum est in celis, que non vult mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vivat, tales, quum mandatam penitentiam perfecerint, eosque satis penituerit rursum benigniter in ecclesiam recipit et fovet et quoad potest in eadem

20 resipiscentes] BL: "-tes"added by correcting hand in right margin.

the divine furor is a certain wisdom and sanity in Christ; those who have fallen away from him into themselves, into rebellion, into darkness, and who are attracted by their own powers may be called energumens, that is, "agitated," since having abandoned God they are led immediately and easily by evil spirits to every kind of disgraceful crime. He who has not been moved by God's Spirit to be a son of God is moved necessarily by the devil's spirit to be the devil's son. For man is continuously drawn on both sides to follow what he wishes. In fact, to whichever side he veers, those nearby zealously push the one drawn forward, and perfect him who has advanced. It is for the man himself to choose the end he wishes, to listen to good or evil advisers, and to follow these or those inspirations. But on whichever side he inclines, there exist everywhere spiritual natures that bring him where he chooses. Therefore, when the divine rites are performed in Christ, no one is permitted to take part other than he who is enlivened by God's spirit, which is holy in life. But the profane—truly all of that kind may be called energumens—must be driven far away from the sacred and from holy rites. For as David sings, sanctity is fitting in the Lord's House.[179] Therefore in the early church all those whose perverse lives declared them to be in the devil's power (for "by their fruits you will know them"[180]) were kept far away from the sacred so that it would not be credited to the devil as an honor—namely, that some of them [the perverse] be present at the divine rites.

Penitents moreover were those who repented of their wrongdoings and wretched lives. All of those recovering their senses, humble, prostrate at the feet of the church, have returned to the church, begging for divine mercy and grace, weeping for their sins, and demanding punishment and a penalty for their sins that they may publicly deplore their errors as an example for all and that through temporal punishment they may avoid eternal death and recover eternal life. The church, which plays the part of Christ, which loosens or binds everything loosed or bound in the heavens, which does not want the death of a sinner but that he be converted and live, receives such as these with joy back into the church and supports and retains them within the same as much as possible after they have fulfilled the required penitence and become repentant.

[179] Ps 92:5: "testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis domum tuam decet sanctitudo Domine in longitudine dierum."

[180] Matt 7:20: "igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos."

conservat. Interea autem dum in mandata penitentia se exercent adhuc
g7v habiti non satis purgati simul cum ca-|thecuminis et erguminis propelluntur longe et excluduntur.

His autem exclusis et templi foribus vigilanter observatis ab hostiariis et ianitoribus, ne aliquis prophanus ingrediatur, tum faciente quoque diacono ministroque quod suum est, ad altare qui circa pontificem sunt principales diaconi simul cum sacerdotibus iugiter pontifici inserviunt. Sanctum panem et calicem benedictionis imponunt altari. Interea, universo clero laudem rei sacre et confessionem consonante, pontifex autem, pane et calice iam presente sanctissimam oracionem fundit quam credo fuisse dominicam; tum, denunciata eciam a pontifice universis pace, omnes mutuo se et salutant et coosculantur. Recitatis deinde mysticis verbis sanctorum ac deinde cum sacerdotibus lotis manibus, pontifex in medio altaris auguste circumdatus sacerdotibus et delectioribus ministris stat, et pergit ut reliqua que sunt in laudem et confessionem sacramenti proferat. Sacramentificisque verbis tandem perficiat rem divinam et salutarem, quo facto universis confecta misteria cum omni reverentia ostendit, et tum ille primus conversus ad altare participat eam. Deinde in
g8r com-|participationem communionemque eiusdem sacramenti reliquos qui sunt omnes cohortatur, ut in uno sacramento omnes cum pontifice couniantur.

Qui quum universi comparticipaverint, tum cum graciarum actione finem imponit ille pontifex, intelligens probe quid velint illa sensibilia signa, et tocius rei racionem conspitiens quanquam alii rudiores nequiunt ultra sensa intueri. Verum quod bona fide agunt est eis in salutem.

14 BL, SP auguste] L anguste **20** BL, SP sacramento] L sacramenta **21** couniantur] SP: strikes macron over “o” and inserts “n” between “u” and “i.”

Meanwhile, however, those in good shape yet not completely cleansed in their natures still keep working on the required repentance even as they are driven far away and shut out, together with the catechumens and energumens.

Moreover, having excluded these and having the doors of the sanctuary watched carefully by ushers and doorkeepers lest any profane person should enter, then with every deacon and minister doing what is his [office], the chief deacons, who surround the pontifex continually, serve at the altar together with the priests of the pontifex. They set out the holy bread and chalice of benediction on the altar. In the meantime, while the entire clergy is sounding together praise and confession of the sacred object, the pontifex, with the bread and cup now in his presence, pours forth the most sacred prayer, which I believe was the Lord's Prayer; then with peace to all also declared by the pontifex all greet and kiss one another.[181] Next, having recited the mystic words of the holy [books] and then having washed hands together with the priests, the pontifex stands at the middle of the altar surrounded reverently by the priests and the more elevated ministers, and he proceeds to put forth the remaining things that are for the sacrament's praise and homage.[182] At last with words constitutive of the sacrament he brings the divine and heathful rite to consummation, with which deed he reverently displays the fulfilled mysteries to all, and then, having first turned to the altar, partakes of it. Finally he exhorts all who remain to co-participation and communion of this sacrament, that they may be co-united with the pontifex in one sacrament.

Then, when all have shared together, with a giving of thanks the pontifex makes an end, understanding well what those sensible signs mean and perceiving completely the rite's principle, even though others who are more uncultivated can observe no more than objects perceived by the senses.[183] Yet what they do in good faith is for their salvation. For not

[181] Coosculantur>coosculor? Apparently Colet's coinage as a verb, but see Latham, coosculum ("joint kiss").

[182] Confessionem>confessio, Latham. DEH 3. 2 (PG 3. 425D) specifies that the hierarch sits rather than stands.

[183] DEH, 3. 2 (PG 3. 428A).

Scientia enim non ducit ad vitam, sed charitas. Si quis diligit deum, hic cognitus est ab eo. Ignorans amor plus potest mille modis quam frigida sapientia. At pontificis, et cuius est rem divinam conficere, tum summe amare tum summe sapere est, ut que conficit sacrorum raciones intime intelligat. Ad id, proculdubio obligantur et astringuntur omnes sacerdotes, quorum est divinum sacramentum conficere, ut in illo divino mysterio supra plebem intelligant. In prima ecclesia, ut bonis testimoniis probat

1 SP, L omit "enim" **4** sacrorum] BL, SP sacra eorum] L sacra, eorum **6** BL: "in illo" inserted in line by correcting hand.

knowledge[184] but charity leads to life. If someone loves God, he is perceived by him. Ignorant love is able [to do] a thousand times more than cold wisdom.[185] But it is for the pontifex and for the one whose function it is to perform the divine rite, both to love and to know, so that the meanings of the sacred rites he performs he may understand deeply. To that [end], all priests whose [duty] it is to perform the divine sacrament are doubtless obligated and bound to understand more about that divine rite than the people. In the early church (as Jerome proves with good witnesses[186]) those

[184] Scientia. In this passage Colet offers no distinction between the "sapientia" of the intellect and "scientia" of rational cognition, a distinction he draws in ER 9–10.165–167. Citing I Cor 3:18, on the paradox of foolish wisdom, he there writes "Est enim principium sapienciae apud Deum, scilicet ignoranciam agnoscere et confiteri. Ac nihil est certe quod tam discutit divinam graciam, quam alta de te ipso opinio, et existimacio quaedam aliquid in te sapienciae esse" (166); Paul's wise fool puts off "omnem scienciae opinionem, confisionemque sibi et viribus suis, quae nullae sunt vires, sed debilitates pocius" (165). Colet's language seems close to that of Erasmus, particularly in the 1503 *Enchiridion militis christiani*, 1.3. (LB 11–12, A–E) and throughout the 1512 *Moriae encomium*. Behind both writers is the tradition of learned ignorance, founded on the human inability to fully know expressed by Nicholas of Cusa and others (*De docta ignorantia* 1.1.4), which undercuts the hint of gnosticism that pervades Dionysius's works.

[185] Colet's "ignorans amor" replaces knowledge with love as the preeminent trait, "amor" for Colet often being interchangeable with "charitas." In ER, Colet paraphrases at length Ficino and *De platonica theologia* on the soul's two "excellentissimos actus" within the intellect: "Dei cognicionem et amorem" (8.155–157) and asserts that the unifying force of love is more powerful than the fragmenting character of knowledge. As the correspondence of Colet with Ficino demonstrates, Ficino was not as inclined to yield priority to love as Colet seems to have believed (Jayne 81–83), but the presumption of charity's and love's superiority to reason appears in all of Colet's works.

[186] The combined love and knowledge Colet attributes to the pontifex is symbolized in Dionysius by the gospels' being placed on the head of a pontifex being ordained (see CEH 5. 3 below) and suggested also in CEH 2. 2. The ideal of pontifical knowledge and learning informs the reported summary of Colet's demonstrative sermon at the installation of Wolsey as cardinal (see Introduction). Lupton, p. 83n, cites only Jerome's Epistle to Evagrius, "Quid enim facit, excepta ordinationes, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?" A more precise reference to the high office of Eucharistic ministers in the early church occurs in Jerome's *Dialogue against the Luciferians* 9: "But if you now ask how it is that a person baptized in the Church does not receive the Holy Ghost, Whom we declare to be given in true baptism, except by the hands of the bishop, let me tell you that our authority for the rule is the fact that after our Lord's ascension the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles. And in many places we find it the practice, more by way of honouring the episcopate than from any compulsory law. Otherwise, if the Holy Ghost descends only at the bishop's prayer, they are greatly to be pitied who in isolated houses, or in forts, or retired places, after being baptized by the presbyters and deacons have fallen asleep before the bishop's visitation. The well-being of a Church depends upon the dignity of its chief-priest, and unless some extraordinary and unique functions be assigned to him, we shall have as many schisms in the Churches as there are priests. Hence it is that

Ieronimus, quorum erat dominicum corpus conficere, ii erant omnium primi; et in principio, omnes, ut hoc officio equales, ita dignitate pares. Nam ex officio et actione agnoscitur dignitas. Excellentissimum offici-
g8v |um, quod excellentissimos et perfectissimos exposcit, est dominicum corpus consecrare. Ex sacerdotali genere eximi et segregari non potest quisquam ad officium excellentius.

Ex sacerdotibus tamen statim post apostolos a primis illis discipulis apostolorum et sequacibus et ex sacerdotum numero officio et dignitate equali unus erat delectus et prepositus ad dirimendas lites et sedandas discordias et sua opinione ac sententia ad terminandas dissensiones, ut in concordia commaneat ecclesia. Ad quem erat delata ea authoritas ab universali ecclesia, ut non consentientes inter se in illius sententia conquiescant, qui officio et dignitate non tam prestat ceteris sacerdotibus – quum nihil agit quoque sacerdote excellentius quam quadam administratione et authoritate in litibus dirimendis – ut in eo omnes qui simul cum eodem sacerdotes agunt omnia tanquam in quodam puncto sententie omnibus finitis discordiis conquiescant. Hic tum peculiariter episcopus cepit vocari, quod nomen sub apostolis omnium erat sacerdotum, donec selectus is fuerat unus de quo modo dixi et propter causam quam dixi.

3–4 SP, L officium] BL officicium ("ci" repeated at top of g8v) 4 quod] BL, SP, L qui 5 SP, L omit "corpus" 5 eximi] BL, SP, L exemi 7 BL: "statim" inserted crudely as palimpsest and written separately in margin by same correcting hand.

without ordination and the bishop's license neither presbyter nor deacon has the power to baptize. And yet, if necessity so be, we know that even laymen may, and frequently do, baptize."

whose [office] it was to prepare the lord's body were of the highest rank; and in the beginning, just as all in this office [were] equal, so [were they] equal in merit. For merit is identified by office and action.[187] The most excellent office, which demands those [who are] most excellent and most perfect, is to consecrate the Lord's body. From the priestly station no one may be removed and separated for higher office.

Yet immediately after the apostles those early disciples and followers of the apostles chose and elevated one from among the number of the priests, equal in office and merit, to end legal disputes, settle disagreements, and set limits to differences of opinion through his opinion and judgment, so that the church may continually dwell in harmony. To him authority was delegated by the whole church, so that those not finding agreement among themselves may rest in the judgment of him who does not so much stand above other priests in office and merit—since he does nothing more excellent than every priest—as in a certain direction and authority in settling disputes—so that in him all the priests who act together with him may find peace, with all disputes settled, as in the resolution of a judgment. From this time, then, he chose to be called "bishop"[188] in particular, the name of all priests under the apostles until one among them had been selected in the manner I have said and for the reason I have stated.[189]

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[187] By linking the "dignitas" of the priest to "actio" as well as "officium," Colet threatens the Augustinian position that had warranted a priest to conduct the mass due to his consecration, whatever his personal moral condition. Overt impatience with corruption appears in Colet's complaints about the moral state of clergy who perform the sacraments in the *Expositio* to the Romans (in *Opuscula quaedam theologica*, 5.279–281), and the Convocation Sermon (Lupton 297–298), and Chapters 5 and 6 below.

[188] Episcopus. See n. 20 above.

[189] This digression provides a rationale for Colet's distinction between "pontifex" and "episcopus," the former emphasizing knowledge and love in the performance of sacramental actions consistent with the ideals of all priests and the latter administrative matters, particularly resolutions of disputes and controversies. Colet's context suggests that the man selected "ab universali ecclesia" is the local bishop, but the passage for the first time raises the issue of the church's administrative hierarchy, an ecclesiological and political matter that goes beyond Dionysius's narrow vision of the hierarch's office. Paul Rorem points out that the link between Dionysian hierarchy and metropolitan administration had been made as early as the 11th century by the Byzantine Nicetas Stethatis (c. 1000–1080), who developed a hierarchic triad of patriarchs, metropolitans and archbishops; a similar linkage arose in the medieval West, becoming visible in Bonaventure, Aquinas, and the 14th century Guillaume de Pierre Godin, who identified hierarchs with the papacy, in contrast to Dionysius, whose "churchly hierarchy was a local one only, headed by clerical office of hierarch, or bishop, who seems answerable only to God … There is but a single comment (in Letter 8) about the relationship of these hierarchs to one another,

h1r Sed nunc sapientia et speculatio ve-|ritatis depromenda est et racio ipsa intimi archani, quam nemo sacerdos debet ignorare.

[III.3]

[I]n primis sacrarum litterarum cantica et lectiones audiuntur a plebe et simul ab omni ecclesia, ut in eis in quibus docetur sanctam vitam discant. Hoc est quod Paulus scribit ad Ephesios, ut impleantur illi spiritu sancto loquentes in psalmis hymnis et canticis spiritualibus cantantes et psallentes in cordibus eorum, domino gracias agentes semper pro omnibus in nomine domini nostri Iesu christi deo patri. Et ad Colocenses: Verbum veritatis christi habitet in vobis abundanter in omni sapientia docentes et commonentes vosmet ipsos in psalmis hymnis et canticis spiritalibus in gracia cantantes in cordibus vestris. Illinc tractum est ut ex sacris litteris passim sumpta recitentur in ecclesia, ut homines ex eis discant bene vivere. Sacra enim scriptura magistra vite est et virtutis regula. Item plebs et rudior multitudo in uno pane et calice proposito, et in eiusdem alimonie ab omnibus participatione pulchre et commode ammonentur, ut alti
h1v et nu-|triti uno omnes in unum coalescant: concordia et pace fraterna sub deo patre in mensa dei. Utque intelligant: sicuti est unus panis et unus calix quem degustant omnes et similis, ita se quoque omnes quoddam unum inter se et similes esse debere convincique in unitate charitatis, quod est vinculum pacis. Habet eciam illa communio venerandam representacionem dominice illius sancte cene cum discipulis suis, in qua

1 veritatis] BL: "-ritatis" added in scribal hand as catchword, lower right margin **3** III.3] BL: red annotating hand inserts "Significa veritas sacrae Eucharistiae" between sections **6** spiritu sancto] BL, SP spiritusanctu] L spiritu sanctu **14** BL, SP virtutis] L veritatis **15** BL: "pane" inserted in erasure by correcting hand **16** BL, SP alti] L aliti **19** BL: "quique" following "ita" struck by correcting hand **19** BL: "quoque" inserted as superscript by correcting hand **20** BL, SP convincique] L convincirique

and it supports not the pope but rather the conciliarists" (*Pseudo-Dionysius* 33; see 30–36).

But now is to be fetched out wisdom, the contemplation of truth and principle of the most esoteric things, of which no priest may be ignorant.

Chapter 3.3. The True Meaning of Holy Eucharist

At first songs and lessons of holy scriptures are heard by the people and likewise all the church so that in them where there are teachings they may become acquainted with a holy life. This is what Paul writes to the Ephesians, that they may be filled with the holy spirit—speaking in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs; singing songs and psalms to the lord in their hearts; always giving thanks for all in the name of our lord Jesus Christ to God the Father.[190] And to the Colossians: the Word of Christ's truth should dwell in you abundantly, in all [its] wisdom, teaching and admonishing you in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, singing in your hearts in thanks.[191] Thence it is derived that passages drawn from the sacred writings are read aloud in church, that by them men may learn to live well. For holy scripture is an instructress of life and a rule of virtue. Moreover, the people and coarser multitude are beautifully and aptly reminded in the one bread and cup put forth and in the sharing by all of the same nourishment that all ought to grow together as one, having been nourished and fed by one in concord and fraternal peace under God the Father at God's table. And they ought to understand: just as there is one bread and one chalice that all alike taste, so there ought also to be a certain unity among them all and a similar being and being fettered within the unity of charity, the bond of peace. That communion also offers a worshipful representation of his lordly holy supper with his disciples, in

[190] Ephesians 5:18–20: "et nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria sed implemini Spiritu loquentes vobismet ipsis in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino gratias agentes semper pro omnibus in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Deo et Patri."

[191] Col 3:16: "verbum Christi habitet in vobis abundanter in omni sapientia docentes et commonentes vosmet ipsos psalmis hymnis canticis spiritalibus in gratia cantantes in cordibus vestris Deo."

seipsum tradidit eis comedendum, ut omnes uniantur in illo et concorporati in unum cum illo eodem conficiant.

Quam sacrosanctam et vivificam cenam Matheus evangelista describit, significans inter epulandum pasche panem et calicem suis propinasse Iesum. Nam inquit Cenantibus eis accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et ait, Accipite et comedite: hoc est corpus meum. Et accipiens calicem gracias egit et dedit illis dicens: bibite ex hoc omnes: hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Quod datum erat a Iesu ipso suis discipulis, ad eundem ritum deinde a pontificalibus personis omnibus credenti-
h2r bus distribuitur, ut memo-|res illius cene uniantur cum eis in christo, qui primi in christo uniti erant; ut cepta vivificatio pergat et procedat operantibus sacris mysteriis in completionem christi. In quo sunt et demortui et vivi, et qui credent omnes futuri qui sacra communione et celesti cibo sustinentur in christo in alta societate dei, conviventes iam non in sordida demoniorum mensa, sed in immaculata dei. Habet vero hoc sacramentum alia et multo altiora cogitamina, sed quod preferat dominicam cenam et communem educationem et fraternam unitatem, si nihil in eo esset aliud, tamen hoc hominibus qui sunt humiliori sensu ad honestam societatem perutile habet monimentum.

Verum nunc altiora videamus. Pontifex ille personam dei agit, qui totus ad altare in conspectu dei flagrat suavissimo odore incensi, quod est signum redolentissime charitatis sue; ut enim deus suam dulcem

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2 BL: “in” added as superscript by correcting hand **4** BL pasche] SP pashe] L pashæ **4** BL, SP propinasse] L proposuisse **8** BL est enim (as in the Sarum missal)] SP, L enim est **9** L: adds “Christo” after “ipso” **10** deinde BL: “c” in “deinceps” modified and “ps” struck by correcting hand to form “deinde” **17** BL preferat] SP, L proferat **19** societatem BL: “sotietatem” inserted as superscript by correcting hand **21** Pontifex BL: “pontifex” repeated by correcting hand in right margin

which he permitted himself to be consumed so that all may be united in him and, brought together as a body, may effect unity with him.[192]

The evangelist Matthew decribes that sacrosanct and vivifying supper, signifying that Jesus had put the bread and cup before his disciples during the feasting of Passover. For, [Matthew] says, "while they were dining Jesus took bread and blessed it and broke it and gave it to his disciples." And he says, "Take and eat: this is my body." And taking the chalice he gave thanks, and he offered [it] to them, saying, "Drink of this all of you; for this is my blood of the new testament, which will be shed for many in remission of sins."[193] What was offered by Jesus himself to his disciples, thereafter is distributed by a pontifical person according to the same rite to all believers so that by recalling that dinner they may be united in Christ with those who first had been united in Christ; so that, once begun, the quickening may continue and advance by the workings of the holy rites toward the fulfillment of Christ. In him exist both the dead and the living, and all who in future will believe, who are supported in God's elevated society[194] in Christ by holy communion and heavenly food, no longer feasting at the demons' filthy table but at God's spotless [one]. In truth, this sacrament contains other, much higher matters worthy of thought;[195] but since it reveals the Lord's Supper and a shared upbringing and our fraternal unity, it remains very useful to men of weaker perception as a memorial to honored fellowship, even if nothing else were in it.[196]

But now let us see the higher truth. That pontifex, who burns completely at the altar with the sweetest smell of incense, in God's sight, a symbol of most odoriferous charity, plays God's part[197] since God indeed

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[192] DEH, 3. 3. 3 (PG 3. 428B).

[193] Matthew 26:26–28: "cenantibus autem eis accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et ait accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum et accipiens calicem gratias egit et dedit illis dicens bibite ex hoc omnes hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum." Present tense "effunditur" is the usage in Matt 26:28 consistent with Jerome's Vulgate and Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* (1516); Colet here uses the future "effundetur" found also in the post-Trent Clementine Vulgate (1592).

[194] Colet's mention of an elevated Christian "society" reflects his similar interest in the community of Christians expressed in 1 Corinthians 13 and elsewhere.

[195] Cogitamina> cogitamen, Latham, referring to "thought" or "intention," c. 1250, 1412.

[196] Prior to the contemplations that follow, DEH, 3. 3. 1 (PG 3. 428B) likewise alludes to three lesser signficances of the rite: shared lives, the Lord's Supper, and the need to become worthy of communion.

[197] Personam Dei agit. The expression emphasizes the "role" of the pontifex as God's imitator.

bonitatem, utque Iesus misericordiam suam large effundat, ut cum magna hominum salute redeat in eandem. Qui in se stans mirifice se amplificat in alios, ut odorifera gracia eos contrahat in ipsum, perinde ac rethe illud Petri, quod deductum in mare, ab eodem piscibus plenum in navim
h2v reducitur. | Ad eundem ferme modum, ut minima maxima imitari possint, pontifex et vicarius dei ecclesie caput vitalior pars se ipsum et suam divinitatem, immo deitatem christi in se, nihil a seipso decedens nec suam maiestatem diminuens, impartit aliis benigniter et divinitus, ut quam plurimi cum eo in christo deificentur. Hoc certe ab altari inchoata adolitio incensi ac deinde in universum templum progrediens et rediens in idem unde profecta est, sancte et auguste significat rudioribus, ut in hoc, si possunt, agnoscant a summo dei longe lateque diffundi graciam in omnes bene olentem; ut odore capti divine suavitatis avide sequantur redeuntem graciam in id ipsum unde gracia ipsa exierit ut rediret in idem. Gracia autem in eucharistia est que vocatur bona gracia, que ministrata a pontifice ab ipso ad alios transit, ut redeat in eundem cum contractu aliorum in ipsum. Ipse quoque pontifex, quasi progrediens se impartit signis aliis, nihilominus tamen recipiens se in semetipsum et secum constans in absoluta et simplici speculatione mysteriorum.

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3 BL: "rethe" repeated by correcting hand in right margin redeund-, followed by two unfilled spaces] L redeundam. **13–14** BL redeuntem] SP corrects "quo," with lower stroke of "e" extending below line **15** BL: "que" apparently

may pour out profusely his sweet goodness and Jesus his mercy, that it may return to the same with the great deliverance of men. Standing immoveably within himself, marvellously he extends himself to others that he may draw them to himself with his pungent grace,[198] and in a manner similar to Peter's net which, having been lowered into the sea, is brought back to the boat by the same [man], filled with fish.[199] In nearly the same way, so that the least may imitate the greatest, the pontifex and God's vicar, the head, the more vital part of the church, in himself yielding nothing from himself nor destroying his majesty, imparts himself and his divinity—no, rather, Christ's deity in him, in no way departing from him nor diminishing his majesty—to others, generously and divinely, so that as many as possible may be made divine with him in Christ. Now certainly the recently begun burning[200] of incense at the altar, both progressing thence to the whole sanctuary and returning to the same whence it had advanced, signifies in a holy and reverent way to the coarser, so that in this, if they are capable, they understand the good-smelling grace being diffused far and wide among all from God's summit;[201] so that, captured by the odor of divine sweetness, they may eagerly follow grace returning to itself, whence grace itself will have gone forth, so that it will have returned to the same. Moreover, grace in the eucharist is what is called "good grace" which, ministered by the pontifex, transits from him to others that it may return with the contraction of others in him. Also, the pontifex himself, as it were going forth, shares himself by signs with others, yet nonetheless draws [them] back to himself and stands firm in absolute and simple contemplation of the rites.

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[198] DEH, 3. 3. 3 (PG 3. 429A–B) centers on the transformation of the original simplicity of and indivisibility of the eucharist to multiplicity in distribution, and its return to spiritual unity. On divine activity in Dionysius as Neoplatonic circular reversion, see Wear and Dillon 53–56. Colet embodies this activity in the person of the pontifex himself.

[199] Lk 5:5–6: "et respondens Simon dixit illi praeceptor per totam noctem laborantes nihil cepimus in verbo autem tuo laxabo rete et cum hoc fecissent concluserunt piscium multitudinem copiosam rumpebatur autem rete eorum." The evangelically allusive analogy is Colet's workaday addition to Dionysius's soaring, elevated contemplation.

[200] Adolitio. Apparently Colet's coinage, a noun apparently formed from the participle ("adultum") of "adoleo."

[201] Although Dionysius writes of a diffused fragrance, it is not clear that it is the incense Colet presumes; at DEH 4. 3. 1 (PG 3. 473D–476A), Dionysius writes of the beautiful fragrance of the sacred ointment without mentioning incense. Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress P, 1980) describes the seventh-century use of censers during the entrance of the pope at a stational service that followed the Gregorian *Ordo Romanus Prius* (37).

Psalmorum modulatio et ex sacro codice recitatio scripturarum earum
h3r que | canonice sunt que tractandis mysteriis in ecclesia abesse nec possunt nec debent, siquidem in illis omnis sapientia et bonitas continetur, omnis nature cognitio, omnis metaphisice speculatio, omnis bonorum morum institutio, omnium preteritorum dei recordatio, omnium futurorum expectatio omnis, denique veri et boni fides et amor, ut preterea quod recitetur auscultandum et inculcetur in auribus hominum nihil sit reliquum. Nec apostoli quidem aliud ab ecclesia audire voluerunt. Nam Paulus semel atque iterum precipit et ad Ephesios et ad Collocenses scribens ut se mutuo commoneant et consolentur in psalmis hymnis et canticis spiritalibus cantantes in cordibus deo. Itaque psalmorum modulatio et cantus in ecclesia inter agendum mysteria et sacrificandum interesse debet commode, ut auditorum mentes concinnitate demulceantur, et, compositi harmonia et divina musica, suaviter alliciantur in omnis concinnitatis et harmonie racionem, ut pacati mentibus gracie dei capaciores sint. Ab ipsis autem apostolis recitatio psalmorum et scripturarum dum aguntur sacra videtur fuisse instituta, ut venturum christum ex veteri testi-
h3v mento venisse perdiscentes et letantes preparati, | hac fide pergamus in ulterius incrementum gracie, quam sacrorum confectio hominibus pie credentibus latenter et mirifice operatur. Hanc causam esse cantatorum

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2 que BL, SP] L omits **3** debent, siquidem BL, SP debent. Siquidem] L debent. Si quidem **10** BL: "psalmis" added as superscript by correcting hand **12** BL inter agendum (poetic gerundive parallel to "sacrificandum")] SP interagendum] L inter agenda **17–18** BL, SP testimento] L Testamento **19** BL, SP incrementum] L merementum **19** sacrorum BL: "-crorum," a palimpsest by correcting hand

The singing of the psalms and the recitation of canonical writings from the sacred codex [are activities] that neither can be nor should be lacking from the conduct of the rites within the church, since indeed all wisdom and goodness, all understanding of nature, all metaphysical speculation, all instruction in good actions, recollection of all the things of God that have gone before, the anticipation of all that is to come, and finally faith and love of the true and good are contained within them, with the result that nothing other than what is recited ought to be heard and inculcated in human ears.[202] Not even the apostles wanted to hear anything else from the church. For, writing to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, Paul orders them now and again to admonish and console themselves mutually, singing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs in their hearts to God.[203] Therefore the singing of the psalms and the chanting in church ought to take place appropriately during the eucharistic rites[204] being performed and sacrificed so that the minds of the hearers may be caressed by rhythmical symmetry, and, having been composed by the harmony and the divine music, may be drawn pleasantly into the arrangement of every harmony and melody; so that, pacified in their minds, they may be made more apt for God's grace. Moreover, recitation of the [psalms and] scriptures while the sacred acts are performed is seen to have been instituted by the apostles themselves, so that, we, learning thoroughly that Christ, who by the Old Testament was [prophesied] to come has indeed come, and joyfully, having been made ready, may continue in this faith to the more advanced spread of grace, which the confection[205] of sacred things secretly and marvellously achieves among men who piously

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[202] DEH, 3. 3. 4 (PG 3. 429C). Colet adds to Dionysius the claim for the exclusivity of sacred songs and readings; cf. CCC 10. 186, 188.

[203] Eph 5:18–20: "et nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria sed implemini Spiritu loquentes vobismet ipsis in psalmis et hymnis et canticis spiritalibus cantantes et psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino gratias agentes semper pro omnibus in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Deo et Patri." See also Col 3:16.

[204] "Mysterium" was related specifically to the eucharist in the 4th century in Ambrose (L & S III.B).

[205] Confectio. The word may connote the ordered arrangement or composition of hymns; the chewing of the eucharist (L & S #2, OLD #4); the consecration (see "conficio" in Latham); or a comfit or mixture of drugs (Latham).

psalmorum et scripture, dum tractantur quevis misteria, dicit Dionysius. Quamobrem decantationem in ecclesia licet videre in nostra religione esse antiquissimam.

Quattuor autem sunt genera hominum: unum quod recusat verbum veritatis; alterum quod admittit sed nondum iniciatur, is cathecuminus vocatur; tercium eorum, qui iniciati a potestate demonum non satis se solverint, quos veteres energuminos vocavere; quartum quos penituit ex professione non vixisse. Hi omnes recitatas scripturas et psalmos decantatos audiunt, ut admoniti celesti doctrina resipiscant et redeant in perfectionem. Verum quando prope instat tractatio sacrorum, abiguntur e templo. Vetus enim institutio voluit ut interesset nemo sacris nisi penitus perfectus. Christus enim perfectus erat, unde emanant omnia in consecrationem hominum deo in ipso; que non delabuntur, nisi in eos qui in sancto christi corpore mistico sunt perfecti. Itaque arcentur procul
h4r a misteriis omnes prophani imperfecti di-|minuti delapsi – cathecumini quidem, quos adhuc quasi informes fetus mater ecclesia parturit et eos

10 perfectionem] SP: "professionem" struck through, corrected as "perfectionem" **13** BL, SP consecrationem] L consecratione **14** L perfecti] BL, SP profecti **16** L: quidem omitted **16** L quos] BL, SP qui

believe.[206] Dionysius says this is the reason for songs, psalms, and scripture while any rites whatever are being performed.[207] Wherefore one may observe [that] in our religion singing in church is most ancient.

There are, moreover, four kinds of men: one that rejects the word of truth; another—by these [early Christians] called cathecumens—that accepts [the word] but is not yet initiated; a third [that is] of initiates—whom the ancients have called energumens—who have not yet sufficiently freed themselves from the power of demons; a fourth [of those] who have repented of not having lived according to their profession [of faith].[208] All of these [latter three] listen to the recited scriptures and sung psalms so that, admonished by celestial doctrine, they may return to their senses and come back to perfection. But when the performance of the sacred rites is imminent, they are driven from the temple. For the ancient custom[209] intended that no one should take part in the sacred rites unless perfected thoroughly. For Christ was perfect, whence emanate all things for the consecration of humankind to God in him, and these things do not come down except into those who have become perfect in Christ's holy mystical body. Therefore all the profane, the imperfect, the diminished, the lapsed—even the catechumens, whom the mother church is now

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[206] Colet follows Traversarius in recasting Dionysius's brief summary of the "scriptural tablets"—said to contain the "substance and arrangement" of all that exists; the rules for distribution and sharing of what is divided by lot; the teachings of the judges, kings, and priests; the endurance of suffering; guidelines for living; divine psalms; prophecies; the "divine works of Jesus the man"; the social communities and teachings of the disciples in Acts, the mystical vision of John; and, ambiguously, "the transcendent Word of God concerning Jesus" (PG 3. 429C–D)—in order to emphasize the central place of Christ in both Testaments (cf. TEH folio 28^{v}).

[207] DEH, 3. 3. 4 (PG 3. 429D): the divine songs "are a poetic narrative of all divine things and they enable everyone who participates in a godly spirit always to receive and pass on the sacrament of the hierarchy." See also DEH, 3. 3. 5 (PG 3. 432B) on the relation between the testaments: "The one wrote by way of images, while the other described things as they happened."

[208] Having provided lengthy descriptions of catechumens, energumens, and penitents in CEH 3. 2 (above), Colet abbreviates Dionysius's lengthier discussion at this point (DEH 3. 3. 6–7 [PG 3. 432C–436B]), without noting the repetition or Dionysius's addition of the fourth type—those who reject the truth and therefore are excluded from the entire rite, unlike the other three, who stay to listen to the psalms and readings. On catechumens and penitents, see SE 6 (Gleason, 320–330).

[209] According to Thompson, the dismissal of catechumens from the "church-prayer" service in the Roman liturgy ended after the papacy of Pope Felix II (CE 483–492) (34).

nondum edidit in lucem. Ne ergo nimium perstringantur oculi eorum mysteriorum choruscatione infirmitati illorum consulit ecclesia et iubet eos abesse donec evaserint robustiores. Nam non modicam fidei lucem exposcunt sacrosancta dei. Qui iniciati fuerint sacris apostate, mali christiani minime ex profectione viventes, et energumini qui proprie vocantur, qui maligno spiritu agitati sunt (quo perfecti nequaquam vexantur immo ii omni maligno spiritui imperant), et denique omnis prophana turba discutitur et a sacrorum conspectu dissipatur, eciam quos penituit peccasse, donec plene expurgentur. Relicti vero sunt in templo homines solum puri illustres et perfecti penitus sine macula: pontifex ille sacratissimus sacerdotes diaconi ministrique et plebs sancta. Qui omnes oculis intentis in sacra, religionis symbolum, Credo in unum deum, concinunt. In illo enim continentur omnia que sunt salutis nostre in christo;
h4v que summa devotione recitanda sunt, ut in graciarum | actione de salute nostra divine misericordie memores et deo grati videamur.

Quando est in altari impositus sanctus panis opertus et calix benedictionis, tum mutuo se salutant coosculantes et sanctorum in christo defunctorum in memoriam nomina revocant. In uno pane proposito, quem omnes comparticipent, mutuum illud osculum vivorum et memoria mortuorum, et vivorum et mortuorum in christo significat unitatem concordiam similitudinem et uniformem vivendi racionem ad imaginem christi, quam omnes qui digne eius sacra participant profitentur imitari.

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2 illorum] BL: "illoru-" inserted in line by correcting hand **15** L: omits grati **15** L videamur] BL, SP videmur **16** L: omits "in" **17** BL, SP coosculantes] L cooasculantes **19–20** SP: "memoria" inserted as superscript

delivering as shapeless fetuses and has not brought into the light of day[210]– are kept far from the rites. Therefore, lest their eyes be dulled too much by [observing] the brilliance of their mysteries, the church has regard for their weakness and commands them to leave until they may grow stronger. For [things] consecrated to God demand no moderate light of faith. Those apostates who have been initiated to the rites, bad Christians dwelling not far at all from the starting point, and energumens properly so called, who have been agitated by an evil spirit (by whom the perfect are not at all disturbed but rather make demands on every malign spirit), and in sum every profane throng is dispersed and routed from sight of the sacred, even the ones who have done penance for having transgressed, until they be purified entirely.[211] Indeed, the men remaining in the temple are only the pure, shining, and perfect, thoroughly spotless: the most sacred pontifex, priests, deacons, ministers, and holy people. And they all, with eyes intent on the sacred rites, harmoniously intone the religion's creed, "I believe in one God."[212] For in it are contained all things which are for our salvation in Christ; and they should be proclaimed with greatest devotion, so that in the giving of thanks for our salvation we may seem mindful of divine mercy and pleasing to God.

When the covered holy bread and the chalice of benediction are set upon the altar, [the people gathered] greet one another, exchanging mutual kisses, and recall as a memorial the names of the saints who have died in Christ.[213] In one bread, openly displayed, which all may share, that mutual kiss and the remembrance of the dead signify the unity, harmony, likeness, and uniform way of living in Christ's image, which all who worthily share his sacred rites promise to imitate.

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[210] Colet abbreviates his source's extended metaphor of birth and still-birth in reference to catechumens, whom Dionysius repeatedly identifies as the "lowest order" (DEH 3. 3. 6 [PG 3.432D, 433B]); Colet does not follow Dionysius's arrangement of the lower hierarchy, in Chapter 5 placing them above the penitents and energumens.

[211] In two sentences Colet summarizes the preceding and DEH, 3. 3. 6–7 (PG 3. 432D–436B), but adds the reference to lapsed apostates, identified here with the energumens but not named in Dionysius or Traversarius.

[212] DEH, 3. 3. 7 (PG 3. 436C–D) summarizes a "song" that celebrates "all the work of God on our behalf" that Luibheid, like Colet, links to the Creed. Luibheid notes that the Creed was introduced into the liturgy only in the late fifth century (218, n. 88), a point apparently unknown to Colet.

[213] DEH, 3. 3. 8 (PG 3. 437A).

Inter recitandum eciam illa sanctorum virorum nomina recordamur – quante virtutis fuerint quorum memoriam tenemus: ut exemplo illorum ad parem virtutem concitemur. In illis paucis, quorum nomina audiuntur, intelliguntur qui sunt reliqui quorum nomina pre multitudine recitari non possunt. Qui pro vivis certe indubia spe recitantur, qui, ut salvator testatus est, transierunt a morte in vitam, et in illius mente qui probe novit suos, ut in libro vite describantur. Proposito quidem salvatore sub speciebus
h5r panis et vini, evestigio commemoratio sanctorum sequitur, ut cum | Iesu illi uniti unum quiddam cum illo esse intelligantur.

Quod autem pontifex cum sacerdotibus lavat manus significat eos totos esse mundos nec egere lotione nisi in extremis partibus. Ut salvator ait Qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet sed est mundus totus. Summe manus lavantur, ut si quis vel levis odor resideat peccati, abstergatur penitus, et pontifex cum suis totus suavis ac simplex ingrediatur sancta sanctorum, ut puriter et religiose in mysterio rem divinam agat et conficiat. Difficile est enim sic caste et integre vivere, ut nulla vel levis obfuscatiuncula affectus in nostro candore subappareat. Hinc summos pedes Petri lavit Iesus. Hinc summas manus, quod ab illa pedum lotione tractum est pontifex facturus sacra lavit, ut vel quod superest quicquid sit in

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6 BL morte in vitam] SP, L vita in mortem **7** describantur] SP, L describitur] BL describuntur **8** BL, SP cum] L in **18** BL: "quod" inserted in line by correcting hand

During the recitation we also recollect those names of holy men, of what great virtue they were whose memory we retain, with the intention that we be spurred to comparable virtue by their example.[214] In those few whose names are heard are understood the rest whose names cannot be read aloud before the group. And they are read aloud with unswerving hope as surely being alive, who, as the savior has testified, have passed from death to life,[215] and who within his mind knows well his own,[216] as is written in the book of life. Indeed the remembrance of the saints follows immediately after the savior has been displayed under the species of bread and wine, so that those united with Jesus may be understood to be [in] a certain unity with him.[217]

That the pontifex washes [his] hands with the priests signifies all are clean and in no need of washing save only in the most remote parts. As the savior says, He who is washed needs not only to wash the feet but wholly to be clean.[218] The fingertips are washed so that if even a trifling odor of sin should abide it may be thoroughly wiped away, and [so that] the pontifex, entirely sweet and simple, may enter together with his attendants into the holy of holies in order that he may act purely and religiously, and confect the divine substance in the eucharistic rite. For it is hard to live so chastely and honestly that as a result not any little tinge, even if light, is evident on our white lustre. Hence Jesus washes the tips of Peter's feet. Hence the pontifex, preparing to perform the sacred rites, washes his fingers, which [act] is derived from that washing of feet, so that even if something remains, whatever it be, of the odor of sin on his fingertips, it

[214] DEH, 3. 3. 9 (PG 3. 437B).

[215] Jn 5:24: "amen amen dico vobis quia qui verbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet vitam aeternam et in iudicium non venit sed transit a morte in vitam." Confusingly, Lupton follows SP, which erroneously reverses the phrase "a vita in morte," and he cites his emendation as "a morte in vitam" (p. 224), as BL correctly reads. DEH, 3. 3. 9 (PG 3. 437B) alludes to this verse.

[216] 2 Tim 2:19, cited in DEH, 3. 3. 9 (PG 3. 437C): "sed firmum fundamentum Dei stetit habens signaculum hoc cognovit Dominus qui sunt eius"; cf. Num 16:5 and Jn 10:14: "ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas et cognoscunt me meae."

[217] In contrast, Dionysius (3. 3. 9 [PG 3. 437C]) emphasizes that the "reverend symbols" are placed on the altar, not "discovered," at the same time that the names of the saints are read. Cf. DEH, 3. 3. 12 (PG 3. 444A).

[218] A loose, misconstructed rendering of Jn 13:8–10: "dicit ei Petrus non lavabis mihi pedes in aeternum respondit Iesus ei si non lavero te non habes partem mecum dicit ei Simon Petrus Domine non tantum pedes meos sed et manus et caput dicit ei Iesus qui lotus est non indiget ut lavet sed est mundus totus et vos mundi estis sed non omnes." The reference to Jn 13:10 occurs also in DEH, 3. 3. 10 (PG 3. 440A).

summis digitis odoris peccati id aqua gracie tollatur. In quo nunc in more est dicere Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas. Sed nemo tam innocens est, quin, si quippiam operetur, habeat necesse, ut saltem summos digitos lavet; id est deponat leves, a quibus difficile abstinetur, affectiones et quasi
h5v extirpatorum reliquias peccatorum. Hic videat quisque | sacerdos per illud lotionis sacramentum, quam mundus quam tersus quam nitidus debet esse qui divina mysteria et presertim dominici corporis sacramentum contrectet, qui ita lavari et tergi intime et expoliri debent ut ne umbra quidem resideat in mente quo superveniens lux aliquantisper obscuretur, neque quicquam vestigii ex peccatis remaneat, quod faciat quo minus in templo mentis nostre deus inambulet.

O sacerdotes O sacerdotium O huius nostre tempestatis detestabilis audatia hominum sceleratorum. O execranda impietas eorum sacerdotilorum, quorum magnam multitudinem hoc nostrum seculum habet, qui ex popinis et lupanaribus, qui ex meretricis et olidi scorti gremio (O nephandum scelus) in templum ecclesie, ad altare christi, in mysteria dei non verentur se ingerere. Homunculi perditissimi, in quos eo gravior dei ultio irruet aliquando, quo se illi impudentius rei divine immiscuerunt. Iesu christe, nos lava non solum pedes sed et manus et caput.

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1 L: “in” inserted after “id” **1** L aqua] BL, SP aque **2** L manus] BL, SP mamus **4** BL: in “deponat,” “a” inserted superscript over “e” by correcting hand **5** BL videat] SP, L videatque

may be removed by the water of grace. Wherein it is now customary to say, I will wash my hands among the innocent.[219] Yet no one is so innocent but that, if he should do something [sacred], he must at least wash the tips of his fingers; that is, he must set aside trifling affections, from which one is restrained with difficulty, and as it were the remains of uprooted sins. Herein by the sacrament of washing every priest ought to observe how clean, how scoured, how shining he who handles the divine rites and especially the sacrament of the lord's body should be, who should be so bathed, scoured and polished inwardly that not even a shadow may abide in the mind whereby the supervening light that enters may be darkened for a time—and that not any residue from sins should remain, which [residue] could bring it to pass that God would walk about less within the temple of our minds.[220]

O priests, O priesthood, O the detestable impudence of profane men of this era of ours! O the reprehensible impiety of those [who are] priestly, of whom our generation now has a great number, who [are] unafraid to carry themselves from eating-houses and brothels, from harlots and the stinking flesh of prostitutes (O unspeakable crime!), into the temple of the church, to Christ's altar, into God's eucharistic mysteries. Most ruined little men, on whom God's punishment eventually will rush the more forcefully the more impudently they have united themselves to those divine substances! Jesus Christ, wash not our feet alone but our hands and head![221]

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[219] Ps 25:6 (Vulgate): "lavabo inter innocentes manus meas et circumdabo altare tuum Domine."

[220] DEH, 3. 3. 10 (PG 3. 440A–B).

[221] Neither the apostrophes concerning clerical immorality nor the rhetorical force of the passage have a parallel in DEH or TEH; Kaufman, "*Polytique Churche*" (70–71) notes similar concerns voiced by Colet in SE (75) and Convocation Sermon (Lupton, *Life* 75). Obviously concerned about clerical immorality, particularly in connection to administration of sacraments, Colet distinguishes between "divine substances" and priestly misconduct, consistent with Augustine's oft-invoked teaching that the spiritual condition of the minister does not impugn the efficacy of a sacrament (*De baptismo contra Donatistas Libri Septem* 3.15). Gleason notes Colet's reading of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*, with its account of Johann Hus, the Bohemian who had taken issue with the medieval doctrine of *ex opera operato*, which asserted that sacramental efficacy was independent of the moral condition of the minister (51–53). Christopher Harper-Bill in "Dean Colet's Convocation Sermon and the Pre-Reformation Church" (191–210) has pointed to a medieval tradition of similar complaints and noted an absence of reported cases, particularly in rural England. Nevertheless, the forceful insertion of demonstrative blame for the clergy of his day suggests Colet had specific cases in mind. Cf. Colet's expostulation on clerical avarice in ER 14. 218–220.

Ad has mysticas lotiones labrum eneum et lotio in veteri testamento instituta generi sacerdotali uti in Exodo describitur spectant, et eas signi-
h6r ficat sicuti alie illic significatorie expiationes. | A quibus admoneri debemus et a nostris simul sanctis signis quam purgati et expiati mentibus ad altare dei astemus, ubi spectator presens est ipse deus iudex Iesus christus notatores angeli: in quorum conspectu, cernente Iesu omnia, rem eiusdem sacratissimam agimus; si rite, in salutem nostram sempiternam; si illegittime, in contumeliam illius nepharie et in perpetuam nostram damnationem.

Tum pontifex totus et penitus lotus redit ad laudes sacratiores, ad confectionem sacramenti, ad illius in apertum ostensionem, postremo ad communicationem in eodem; quod ipsum unum una cum pontifice universi qui adherent comparticipando. Que quid velint quidque significent ut ostendatur paulo altius repetamus.

Quum vero statim post creationem stulta humana natura blandis adversarii illecebris illecta delapsa fuerit a deo in muliebrem et moribundam conditionem, quumque fuerit in ipsam mortem celeri cursu

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1 L labrum] BL, SP labium **2** BL: in "Exodo," final "o" corrected, apparently from "i" **2** spectant] BL, SP, L spectat **8** L in perpetuam] BL, SP imperpetuam **8** L nostram] BL, SP nostri **15** BL: "stulta" inserted as superscript by correcting hand

The bronze basin[222] and washing of the priestly class instituted in the Old Testament (as described in Exodus[223]) have regard to these mystic washings and figures them, just as the expiations there [do] to other signifiers.[224] By which [figures] and at the same time by our holy signs we should be admonished regarding how cleansed and atoned in mind ought we to stand at God's altar, where God himself, Jesus Christ the judge, is the observer at hand, and angels the notaries, in whose sight, while Jesus watches all, we perform his work; if properly, to our sempiternal salvation; if unlawfully, impiously to his affront and to our perpetual damnation.

Then the pontifex, completely and inwardly washed, returns to the more sacred praises, to the confection of the sacrament, to its open display, afterwards to the sharing in the same sacrament; and by sharing together this very thing, the congregation who cling together are one with the pontifex.[225] And in order that it may be shown what these things mean, and what they signify, let us resume the search a little deeper.

When shortly after creation foolish human nature, having been seduced, had fallen from God to a womanish and mortal state due to the flattering enticements of the adversary, and when he had flown headlong

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[222] L emends BL's "labium" to "labrum." Colet's apparent confusion (or the scribe's) could result from the words' shared meaning of "lip" or from the use of "labium" in the scholium on this passage, TEH f. 32^{v}. Crafted for Moses, the bronze basin and its stand, associated with the Ark and the Tabernacle, are mentioned in Ex 38:8, in the present context significant because transformed from the bronze mirrors of the women outside the Tent of Meeting: "ecit et labrum aeneum cum base sua de speculis mulierum quae excubabant in ostio tabernaculi."

[223] The association of Aaron or his successor as high priest, termed "pontifex" in the Vulgate (Ex 29:30), carries over to this reference to the basin Moses and Aaron used to wash their hands and feet upon entering the Tent of Meeting or the altar (Ex 40:30–31), as God had commanded (Ex 30:17–21). Colet's attention is suddenly drawn to this typology by the allusion at DEH, 3. 440A: "I have already mentioned that sacred washing was a feature of the hierarchy of the Law and this is what underlies the cleansing of the hands of the hierarch and the priests," and it may have reminded him of Dionysius's *Letter* 8, wherein the monk Demophilus is admonished for having disrupted the hierarchy by objecting to a priest's expression of mercy for a sinner (PG 3. 1088B). In this context the letter is also significant in that it advises the monk to accept the leadership even of "impious priests" because hierarchic order assures God's ultimate control: "Those ordered by God to take charge of others are duly empowered to distribute what is due to those after themselves who are their sdubordinates. So, then, let Demophilus give due place within himself to reason, to anger, and to desire" (PG 3. 1093A). On this letter see Ronald F. Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 64 ff.

[224] Significatorie, apparently Colet's coinage, but see OLD, significatus.

[225] This sentence outlines DEH, 3. 3. 1214 (PG 3. 441C–445A).

preceps devoluta pro omnibus malis simul omnia bona commutans, tunc aliquando suo tempore bonus pius benignus clemens misericors deus, recipere in se hominem ipse voluit et se ei inserere et ab adversarii potestate vindi-|care illius imperio everso atque deleto. Nam, ut scribit ad Hebreos Paulus, Quia pueri – id est servi – communicaverunt carni et sanguini – id est, homines deserentes deum – ideo et ipse deus, exinaniens se, formam servi suscepit, et similiter participavit eiusdem carni et sanguini – id est homini – ut per mortem destrueret eum qui habebat mortis imperium – id est, diabolum. Et liberavit eos – id est, qui timore mortis per totam vitam obnoxii erant servituti – destrueret quidem illum hostem, non viribus sed (ut ait Dionysius) iudicio et iustitia, quod vocat occultum et mysticum.

h6v

Erat enim mirabilis victoria, ut victor diabolus eo ipso quod vicit victus esset, et Iesus, quo victus in cruce eodem vinceret, ut aliter re ipsa esset

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1 SP, L omnibus] BL: ombus ("-ni-" omitted at line break) **4** L vindicare] BL, SP vindire ("-ca-" omitted at break between h6^{r} and h6^{v}) **6** L exinaniens] BL, SP exaniens

in one swift motion down to death itself, at once exchanging all good things for all evil ones, then at some point good, holy, kind, generous, and merciful God in his time wished to draw man back to himself, to engraft himself to him, and to avenge the power of the adversary and his demolished and annihilated empire.[226] For, as Paul writes to the Hebrews, since children—that is, slaves—have shared in the body and blood—that is, men forsaking God—God, emptying himself, both took the form of a slave and participated in like manner in the same body and blood[227]–that is, humanity—so that through death he may destroy him who had established the empire of death—that is, the devil.[228] And he has freed them—that is, those who had been subjected to enslavement by the fear of death [their] whole life[229]–and would destroy that enemy, not through deeds of strength but (as Dionysius says) through judgment and justice, which he calls occult and mystic.[230]

For it was a marvellous victory, that the conqueror devil had been conquered by the very fact that he conquered and that Jesus whereby having been conquered on the cross was victorious by the same means, with the result that on both sides the situation concerning the victory

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[226] Colet compresses DEH, 3. 3. 10–11 (PG 3. 440C–441B), in the process placing somewhat more emphasis than Dionysius on God's mercy in contrast to mankind's freely chosen sin (3. 3. 11 [PG 3. 441A]).

[227] Heb 2:14: "quia ergo pueri communicaverunt sanguini et carni et ipse similiter participavit hisdem ut per mortem destrueret eum qui habebat mortis imperium id est diabolum"; Phil 2:7: "sed semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inventus ut homo."

[228] Colet's language of militancy against positive evil and of servitude contrasts with Dionysius's metaphysics. See DEH 3. 3. 11 (PG 3. 441A): the goodness of the Deity "took upon itself in a most authentic way all the characteristics of our nature, except sin. It became one with us in our lowliness, losing nothing of its own real condition, suffering no change or loss."

[229] Heb 2:15: "et liberaret eos qui timore mortis per totam vitam obnoxii erant servituti."

[230] DEH, 3. 3. 11 (PG 3. 441B): "as our hidden tradition teaches, [God's goodness] made it possible for us to escape from the domain of the rebellious, and it did this not through overwhelming force, but, as scripture mysteriously tells us, by an act of judgment and also in all righteousness." The latter phrase is drawn from Is 42:1–4, on the prophesied "messenger to Zion, a bringer of good news to Jerusalem" (41:27): "ecce servus meus suscipiam eum electus meus conplacuit sibi in illo anima mea dedi spiritum meum super eum iudicium gentibus proferet non clamabit neque accipiet personam nec audietur foris vox eius calamum quassatum non conteret et linum fumigans non extinguet in veritate educet iudicium non erit tristis neque turbulentus donec ponat in terra iudicium et legem eius insulae expectabunt."

utrinque in victoria quam appareret. Itaque victo adversario a deo, qui adversarius vicit hominem, restitutus est sine querela diaboli iusta homo in libertatem et lucem dei; cui ostensa est via in celum calcata pedibus christi, cuius vestigia sequi debemus si volumus quo ille ivit pervenire. Paciens christus inquam et moriens, miraculum, quasi victus vicit et eiectus eiecit, quando audita erat vox patris illa: et clarificavi et iterum cla-
h7r |rificabo, que propter alios facta est. Tunc Iesus ostendens quenam erat illa clarificatio dixit: Nunc iudicium est mundi; nunc princeps mundi huius eiicietur foras. Et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum. Hoc autem dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus. Morte enim illa erepti a mortuis servimus deo, et memoriam illius mortis celebramus iniciati sacris illius, qui moriturus dixit, precipiens: hoc facietis in memoriam mei. Item Paulus: Quociensquunque bibetis calicem hunc mortem domini annunciabitis donec veniat. Inter sacrificandum illa recordatio mortis sane efformat nos in imaginem christi. Et sacramenta nos trahunt et abducunt a mundo, et disponunt atque devinciunt deo, ut dei forma in nos reluceat.

Quapropter (ut ad rem redeamus) pontifex ille et sacerdotes quum quod fecit Iesus filius dei pro nobis commemoraverit, tum pergit reliqua conficiens signis idoneis a deo institutis. Excusat se ex animo et indignum ad tantum misterium se proclamat. Petit digne conficiat, rite

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2 BL: “hominem” inserted in line by correcting hand **19** L quod] BL que] SP omits
21 rite BL: “rit-“ inserted by correcting hand over erasure

itself should in fact be otherwise than it had appeared.[231] Therefore with the adversary conquered by God, which adversary conquered man, man has been restored to God's liberty and light, with no just complaint of the devil; and to him the path to heaven trodden by Christ's feet is revealed, and [Christ's] footprints we must follow if we wish to arrive where he has gone. I say, suffering and dying, Christ as it were, having been conquered, was the conqueror (a miracle!), and expelled, did the expelling, when the voice of the father had been heard: I have illumined and I will illumine again; and this [voice] was sounded for the sake of others.[232] Then, revealing what that illumination was, Jesus said: Now is the judgment of the world; now the prince of this world will be driven far away. And, if I shall have been raised from the earth, I will draw all to me. He said this, signifying by [it] what death he was about to die. For we serve God, having been snatched from the dead by that death of his, and we celebrate the memory of that death, initiated into the rites of him who, nearing death, giving a command, said: Do this in memory of me.[233] Likewise Paul [writes]: Whenever you drink from this cup you will proclaim the Lord's death until he come again. During the action of the sacrifice that recollection of death healthily forms us in Christ's image. And the sacraments draw and lead us away from the world, and they prepare and bind us to God, so that God's form may shine again within us.

Wherefore (that we may return to the matter) when that pontifex and the priests have commemorated what Jesus the son of God did for us, he then continues to confect the remainder by the appropriate signs instituted by God. He absolves himself from the bottom of his heart and proclaims himself unworthy of so great a mystery. He petitions that he may

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[231] Colet's discussion of fallen humanity's mortality assigns greater power to the enticements of the devil as agent and to Christ's subsequent redemption than does Dionysius's, which, while acknowledging the "evil assaults of the devil," emphasizes humanity's poor judgment: "From the very beginning human nature has stupidly glided away from those good things bestowed on it by God" (DEH, 3. 3. 11 [PG 3. 440C]).

[232] Jn 12:28–33: "Pater clarifica tuum nomen venit ergo vox de caelo et clarificavi et iterum clarificabo turba ergo quae stabat et audierat dicebant tonitruum factum esse alii dicebant angelus ei locutus est respondit Iesus et dixit non propter me vox haec venit sed propter vos nunc iudicium est mundi nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum hoc autem dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus."

[233] Lk 22:19: "et accepto pane gratias egit et fregit et dedit eis dicens hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis datur hoc facite in meam commemorationem." Cf. 1 Cor 11:24. Cited in DEH, 3. 3. 11 (PG 3. 441C).

distribuat ecclesie astanti, ecclesia recte participat. In prima ecclesia in
h7v missa pendentes a sacerdote simul cum illo immolatum christum | comparticiparunt, quibus confecta sacramenta proponit ante oculos et sanctum panem conscindit in frustra et distribuit simul cum calice. Et sic multiplicat unum multis ut multos unificet in uno. Unum enim illud et simplex quum voluit incarnari, voluit individuum manens se quodammodo multiplicare, ut multi comparticipantes ipsum unum verbum dei uniantur in illo similes illi facti toti sancti in ipso.

Oportet spectemus, ut scribit Dionysius, vitam illius Iesu in carne, que erat tota pro nobis; et ostensum exemplum illamque vitam imitemur, si volumus glorie sue comparticipes esse. Prodiit ex occulto in apertum hominibus; invisibilis factus est visibilis, unus quodammodo multus ut in suam racionem contrahat omnia. Et id est mysterium quod ex abdito et occulto depromptus unicus panis et calix et ostensus et distributus comparticipatusque significat. Que ut sensibilia una multiplicantur in unitionem, ita intelligamus invisibilia et Iesum unum dimultiplicatum esse, ut quam plurimi in ipso uniantur – illi videlicet qui Iesu (ut Dionysii

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1 BL, SP participat] L participet **4** conscindit] BL: "-it" inserted as correction after conscind-, followed by space from erasure **5–6** L: omits "Unum enim illud et simplex quum voluit incarnari"

confect the consecration properly; [that] he may distribute [the eucharist] to the assembled church appropriately; that the congregation may take part in a correct manner.[234] In the early church those dependent upon the priest at the mass shared in the sacrificed Christ simultaneously with him, for whom he sets the consecrated sacraments before [their] eyes and breaks the holy bread into pieces and at the same time distributes them along with the chalice.[235] And in this way he multiplies one among many and unifies the many in one. For when that unity and simplicity wished to be made flesh, it wished to multiply itself in some way while remaining undivided, so that the many, sharing together that one true Word of God might be united in him, having become like him, entirely holy in him.

As Dionysius writes, we ought to observe in Jesus his life in the flesh, which was entirely for us; we should imitate that revealed example and that life if we wish to be co-participants in his glory.[236] He has appeared to men in the open from the hidden. The invisible has become visible, the one, in a certain way, many, in order that he may draw all to his way. And that is the mystery that the unique bread and cup—removed from the secret and occult, shown, distributed and shared—signifies.[237] And just as the sensate are multiplied in oneness, so let us understand that the invisible and the one Jesus, is multiplied so that very many may be united in him—they namely who imitate the sinlessness[238] (if I may

[234] DEH, 3. 3. 12 (PG 3. 441D–444A).

[235] The notion of the laity "hanging onto" the pontifex is suggested by DEH (PG 3. 441B), with reference to Jesus, who "has united our humility with his own supreme divinity. But we in our turn have to cling to him like the members of one body and we do so by the conformity that comes with a divine life of sinlessness." Colet notes in passing the simultaneous communion of the pontifex and the congregation, in contrast to later practice.

[236] DEH, 3. 3. 12–13 (PG 3. 444A–D).

[237] Colet loosely summarizes DEH, 3. 3. 14 (PG 3. 444C), providing less emphasis than his source on Christ's incarnate model, more on the relative clarity of Christian vision and possibility of participation. At this place, Dionysius focuses on the incarnation, writing that the hierarch "shows how out of love for humanity Christ emerged from the hiddenness of his divinity to take on human shape, to be utterly incarnate among us while yet remaining unmixed. [The hierarch] shows how he came down to us from his own natural unity to our own fragmented level, yet without change. He shows how, inspired by love for us, his kindly activities called the human race to enter participation with himself and to have a share of his own goodness, if we would make ourselves one with his divine life and imitate it as far as we can" (PG 3. 444C). See also DN 3. 1. (PG 3. 592AB 8–17) and *Epistle* 4 (PG 3. 1072ABC).

[238] Impeccantiam, as in TEH 30^{v}; cf. DEH 3. 444B.

verbo utar) impeccantiam imitantur quique non peccant sicut ille non
h8r peccavit. Primus pontifex participat quod is propior | est deo, qui debet longe omnium esse sanctissimus et sapientissimus. Nam indigna tractatio illius tanti sacramenti ex ignorantia est. Discant igitur pontifices mysteria dei et dignos ad sacra sacerdotes promoveant, ne longa indignitate digna ultio provocetur tandem in nos dei; qui pro sua maxime pietate faciat nos dignos mysteriis suis.

[IV.1, 2]

[I]n omnibus sacramentis est deductio unius ad multa, et simplicis ad multiplicia, et invisibilis veritatis ad sensibilia signa, ut his cognatis rationibus homines capti a multiplicitate ad unitatem contrahantur. Sic constat sacramenta omnia esse opportuna media inter unum deum et multos homines ut multi in deo deificentur.

Unguentum autem consecratur quo: ad omnia fere utitur sacerdotale officium. Et habet ferme eas ceremonias quas Synaxis: incensum, psalmos, lectiones, cantus. Illud quoque dum consecratur cathecumini apostate energumini penitentes abiguntur.

Opertum et tectum unguentum vult et significat secretam custodiam
h8v divinarum inspi-|rationum in sanctam mentem, que nec ostentari insolentius nec prophanari temere debent, ne tum bonum odorem amittant,

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6 BL: "tan-" struck at end of line, repeated in "tandem" on next line **6** BL: "qui" inserted on line by correcting hand **8** IV.1, 2] BL: "De Consecratione Unguenti" inserted between sections by annotating hand **10** BL, SP veritatis] L unitatis **12** BL: "unum deum et" inserted in erasure by correcting hand **16** consecratur] BL: "-atur" added in line by correcting hand

use the word of Dionysius) of Jesus and who do not sin, just as he did not. Since he is nearer to God than the others, the pontifex, who ought to be the holiest and wisest by far, partakes [of the eucharist] first. For the unworthy handling of that great sacrament is done out of ignorance. Therefore pontifices ought to learn God's mysteries and advance worthy priests to the sacred, lest God's punishment, deserved because of a long period of unworthiness, should finally be called forth upon us. And may he, because of his very great piety, make us worthy of his mysteries.[239]

Chapter 4. 1, 2. On the Consecration of Oils

In all sacraments there is a leading down from the one to the many, from the simple to the multiple, and from invisible truth to signs able to be perceived by the senses, so that men may be drawn together by these interconnected modes, drawn up from multiplicity to unity. So it is firmly established that all the sacraments are suitable means between the one God and manifold men, in order that the many may be deified in God.

Now the unguent is consecrated, which the priest's function uses for almost everything; and it has almost the same ceremonies as communion: incense, the psalms, readings, and chants.[240] Also, while that is being consecrated cathecumens, apostates, energumens, [and] penitents are driven out.[241]

The chrism, covered and concealed, means and signifies the secret protection of divine inspirations for a holy purpose, which [inspirations] should neither be revealed too extravagantly nor recklessly profaned, lest thereupon they incur the loss of good odor.[242] The fragrance of the

[239] DEH, 3. 3. 14 (PG 3. 445A), warns Christian teachers to achieve "perfect and lasting divinization" prior to exercising the "task of leadership" lest he be "unholy" and a "stranger to sacred norms." Dionysius echoes the admonitory language in *Letter* 8 to Demophilus, on which see n. 223 above.

[240] Cf. DEH, 4. 3. 10–12 (PG 3. 484B–D).

[241] DEH, 4. 2 (PG 3. 473A); cf. 4. 3. 1 (PG 3. 477B). Colet alters the thrust of Dionysius's opening to Chapter 4: Dionysius writes specifically of the elevated status of the sacrament of muron in calling it "another rite of perfection belonging to the same order" as communion, whereas Colet reduces the comparison to merely similar rites. The two sentences of this paragraph summarize Dionysius's brief μυστήριον or statement of the rites (PG 3. 473A) and continue without a break into the third section, the θεωρία or contemplation.

[242] DEH, 4. 3. 1 (PG 3. 473B).

fragrantia rei et nitor divine gracie velamine sancte custodie tutari debet. Nihil enim nec preciosius nec odoratius infuso dono in hominis mentem a deo.

Ad quam infusionem si perstet homo, intenduntur gracie gradus, ut tandem mens ad dei similitudinem evadat non dissimilis. Depinget deus plenam suam imaginem si in illum totus homo intendat assidue. Quod accepit deitatis non invulget, ne vilescat evanescatque divine rei odoris fragrantia. Suo iure secreto divina celari velint, que si invulgentur divinitatem amittunt. Non enim vult deus communicare se multis, quia non sunt multi quibus se communicet. Nitor species virtus odor abest, si archana invulges, que ita celare debes, ut non solum sapientiam et que cognoscis per revelationem non publices, sed eciam opera (Salvatoris precepto) publicitus non facias ut ab hominibus videare.

Ut enim deus secretus est, ita divini homines – abducti secreti et solitarii et intimi in se ipsis – sunt longe a vulgo separati; | et sapientia eorum iir tota et vita ac opera sunt abscondita spectata a deo et angelis non ab hominibus. Querunt et sapiunt que sursum sunt ubi christus est in dextera dei sedens, non que super terram. Mortui sunt et vita eorum abscondita est cum christo. Hinc solitudinem amant et, dei instar, omnia que bene

14 secretus] BL: "secreti," with "i" corrected to "-us" with macron and long "s" **19** BL, SP cum] L in

substance and the luster of the divine grace must be protected by a covering of holy guardianship. For nothing [is] more precious or more pungent than a gift infused by God into the mind of man.

If a man is to stand firm at that infusion, degrees of grace must be strained so that at length the mind may turn out not dissimilar to the likeness of God. God will represent his whole image if the whole man should strive continuously towards him. What he receives of the Deity he may not make public, lest the fragrance of the odor of the divine substance be held cheap and pass away.[243] By their own secret law, divine things, which lose [their] divinity if they are published, would be kept hidden. For God does not wish to communicate himself to the many, since not many exist to whom he may communicate himself. Beauty, form, virtue, odor disappear if you make public the hidden, which you ought to keep so secret that not only do you not publish wisdom and what you comprehend through revelation, but also, by the savior's precept, you should not perform any works in public that you may be observed by men.[244]

For just as God is withdrawn, so divine men—removed, withdrawn, solitary, and close within themselves—are set far apart from the crowd; and all their wisdom, life, and works are concealed, witnessed by God and the angels, not men. They seek to know and they discern what is elevated, where Christ is sitting at God's right hand, not what [is] on earth. They have died and their life is hidden with Christ.[245] Hence, they love solitude,

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[243] DEH, 4. 3. 1 (PG 3. 473C). This and the preceding two sentences enigmatically refer to Dionysius's description of the spiritually adept as artists "who love beauty in the mind": "They make an image of it within their minds. The concentration and the persistence of their contemplation of this fragrant, secret beauty enables them to produce an exact likeness of God." "Divine artists" protect from the mob their perception of the ointment, one of the "infinitely sacred things of the Church" (4. 3. 1 [PG 3. 473D]): "Because this is truly fragrant, they have no time to return to the couterfeits which beguile the mob, and it truly impresses only those souls which are the true images of itself" (4. 3. 1 [PG 3. 476A]). The image of impression extends the symbolism of the divine impress or seal and generative imitation: "virtuous conformity to God can only appear as an authentic image of its object when it rivets its attention on that conceptual and fragrant beauty. On this condition—and only on this condition—can the soul impress upon itself and reproduce within itself an imitation of loveliness" (4. 3. 1 [PG 3. 473B]).

[244] Matt 23:5, where Jesus speaks of the scribes and Pharisees: "omnia vero opera sua faciunt ut videantur ab hominibus." Cf. DEH, 4. 3. 1 (PG 3. 473D–476A), which lacks the connection Colet draws between making public the fruit of speculative contemplation and the performance of works.

[245] Col 3:1–3: "igitur si conresurrexistis Christo quae sursum sunt quaerite ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens quae sursum sunt sapite non quae supra terram mortui enim estis et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo." L cites incorrectly Col 1:1–3.

faciunt occulte agere cupiunt, ut laudetur deus non ipsi, ut que opera eorum luceant coram hominibus non ipsi, et glorificetur pater celestis non ipsi. Si vis divinus esse, late ut deus, appare in celo, et sit conversatio tua in celis. In veritate ipsa si sis, sacramentis sensibilibus non eges; habes ipsam dei graciam quo omnia tendunt sacramenta. Sic habuerunt quondam monachi in Egypto non habentes in usu illa omnia sacramenta que nos habemus ut trahamur ad deum, propterea quod tracti in deum eis non eguerunt.

Ut intelligamus divina secreta et tecta esse oportere, ale ille integunt et tutantur sacrum crisma, quo omne sacerdotale munus perficitur et completur. Est enim sanctum crisma eucharistie pene par et usu

1–2 BL: "opera eorum luceant" inserted at lines' end and beginning by correcting hand **2** BL: comma after "ipsi" apparently a correction inscribed over a colon **4–5** SP, L ipsam dei graciam] BL ipsa dei gracia

and after the manner of God, all that they do well they long to do in secret so that God, not themselves, may be praised; so that their works, not themselves, may shine forth openly to men; the heavenly father, not themselves, may be glorified.[246] If you wish to be divine, be concealed like God, show yourself in heaven and let your citizenship be in heaven.[247] If you exist in truth itself, you have no need of sacraments perceptible to the senses; you have that very grace of God, to which all sacraments direct their course.[248] In this manner monks once lived in Egypt, not holding in common use all these sacraments we possess that we may be drawn to God; because, already drawn toward God, they had no need of them.[249]

So that we may understand that the divine should be hidden and concealed, those wings cover and protect the sacred chrism by which every divine service is perfected and fulfilled.[250] For the consecrated chrism[251] is

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[246] Matt 5:16: "sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant vestra bona opera et glorificent Patrem vestrum qui in caelis est."

[247] Phil. 3:20: "Nostra autem conversatio in cælis est." See Augustine's *De civitate dei* generally; specifically: 20.9; 5.16. Cf. CCC 12.250.

[248] Behind Colet's statement is Dionysius's comparison of the advanced contemplative to the Platonic artist, contemplating and experiencing directly what is transcendent through the mind. See DEH, 4 (PG 3 473B–476A): "divine artists" contemplate "secret, fragrant beauty" that "enables them to produce an exact likeness of God" (473C).

[249] DEH and TEH have no parallel reference to Egyptian practice, and a source for this comment has not been found. Colet seems to be referring to the practices of the Macarians or Pneumatics (those endowed "with the spirit"), a group condemned in fourth- and fifth-century synods. They were identified as the Syrian followers of Macarius (sometimes called Symeon of Mesopotamia, known also as Macarius of Egypt), a fourth-century author of letters, question-and-answer texts, and didactic works whose extreme emphasis on prayer and intense spiritual experience produced a passionless state [ἀπάθεια] wherein material sacraments no longer seemed of use. See Klaus Fitschen, "Messalians/Euchites," *Religion Past and Present*, ed. Hans Dieter Betz, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012); *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Messalians." See *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Motius, 1 in *Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Kalamazoo, 1975), 148, wherein a brother receives advice from Abbot Motius not to boast that he does not go to synaxis or receive the agape (Eucharist), implying that among misguided monks this was a point of pride.

[250] The "wings" Colet mentions touch on a point developed at some length in DEH 4: the oil to be consecrated is covered by a veil shaped in "six pairs of folds" (DEH, 4. 3. 4 [PG 3. 477C]; cf. 4. 3. 2 [3. 476C]), which call to mind for Dionysius the six wings of the seraphim, the highest rank of angels in the Dionysian scheme (DEH, 4. 3. 5 [PG 3. 480B–484A]; cf. DCH 7 [PG 3. 205B–C] and 13. [PG 3. 304D–305A]). Colet's omission of most of Dionysius's discussion of the symbol may signify his relative lack of interest in the esoteric significance of the wings.

[251] Crisma: see chrisma, Latham. DEH 4. 3. 2 [PG 3. 476C–D] describes the "rite of Consecration" of the oil and equates it with the eucharist in a way that Colet does not quite match: "since in dignity and effectiveness it is on a level with the sacred rite of the synaxis, our divine leaders have laid down virtually the same imagery to describe it."

necessitateque equalis. In cuius consecratione est eadem ceremoniarum
i1v celebritas, in quo eciam per multiformes colores homines tra-|huntur ad ipsam simplicem lucem que in se intime lucet et in opacitate signorum non evadit colorata. In quo unguento sicuti in eucharistia in qua a corporis oculis veritas dei in signis spectatur, a spiritali acie simplex illa veritas ut a sole iusticie funditur conspicitur. Qui nequeunt cernere ipsum solem, cuius potentis lucis vibracio diffringit aciem teneram, in umbris tamen colores ferre possunt. Unguentum autem illud et sacrum crisma ex multis et variis et bene odoriferis materiebus concinnatur, quo imbuti homines bene et suaviter redoleant naresque reficiant dulcissime.

Hoc unguentum est Iesus ipse christus, unctio et odor divinus, in quo ex omnium virtutum concinnitate spirat spiritalibus hominibus odor quidam ineffabiliter delectans et nares mentis reficiens. Qui ipse Iesus nostrum crisma nos imbuit seipso et inungit suo ipsius vivifico oleo leticie, quo vegeti fortes nitidi suavesque simus. Id est oleum de quo Paulus in secunda Epistola ad Corinthios sic scribit. Qui deus confirmat nos vobiscum in christo, et qui unxit nos deus et dedit nobis pignus spiritus in
i2r cordibus nostris. Hic spiritus christi est quod ipsum | crisma est: qui ubi est odorem spirat suavissimum. Hec unctio est a sancto illo, quod docet omnia, ut Ioannes scribit: Christiani sumus in ipso christo; id est, uncti in unctione ipsa.

16 L secunda Epistola ad Corinthios] BL, SP .2. Epistola ad Chorintheos **16–17** L vobiscum (as in Vulgate)] BL, SP vobustum **20** SP, L: "ipso" omitted

nearly on a par with the eucharist and [is its] equal in practice and in its being needed. In its consecration there is the same array of ceremonies, inasmuch as men are likewise drawn through multi-form colors to simple light itself, which shines closely within itself and does not go forth colored in the opacity of signs. And in the unguent, just as in the eucharist, in which God's truth is observed by the bodily eyes in signs,[252] simple truth is observed through spiritual insight as it is poured forth by the sun of justice. Those incapable of witnessing the sun itself, whose radiation of powerful light shatters the frail vision, are nevertheless able to tolerate the sight of colors within the shadows. Moreover, when men emit the odor of that oil and sacred chrism and refresh their nostrils most pleasantly, it brings together in a harmony many varied, good-smelling substances.[253]

This unguent is Jesus, himself the anointed, the unction and divine odor, in whom a certain odor from the blending of all the virtues, delighting ineffably and reviving the nostrils of the mind, wafts to spiritual men. And this very Jesus, our chrism, drenches us with himself and anoints us with his enlivening oil of joy, by which we may be enlivened, strong, shining, pleasant.[254] In the second epistle to the Corinthians, Paul writes of that oil thus: and it is God who strengthens us in Christ with you [Corinthians], and it is God who has anointed us and gives us the spirit's pledge in our hearts.[255] This spirit of Christ is the essence of that chrism, which breathes a most pleasant odor wherever it is. This is the anointing by that holy [one] who teaches everything, as John writes: we are Christians in Christ; that is, anointed in the anointment itself.[256]

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[252] DEH, 4. 3. 4 (PG 3. 477B–D).

[253] DEH, 4. 3. 4 (PG 3. 477C).

[254] DEH, 4. 3. 4. (PG 3. 477C, 480A): "The composition of the ointment is symbolic …. It shows figuratively that Jesus is the rich source of the divine fragrances." Colet takes the opportunity to develop the etymological association between Christ and chrism in this section.

[255] 2 Cor 1:21–22: "qui autem confirmat nos vobiscum in Christum et qui unxit nos Deus et qui signavit nos et dedit pignus Spiritus in cordibus nostris." The wordplay on "Christ" and "chrism" is a commonplace, found also, for example, in the explanation of unction in William Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*: "Christus enim a crismate dicitur" (I.viii.7).

[256] 1Jn 2:20: "sed vos unctionem habetis a Sancto"; 1Jn 2:27: "sicut unctio eius docet vos de omnibus."

Tota mollicies lenitas suavitas voluptas delectatio sapor odor harmonia lux et leticia exultans deus est. Deushomo Iesus omnes spiritales sensus omni voluptate perfundit; et animam sponsam que cum illo coit pre voluptate rapit in extasim, ut in voluptate dei tota sit voluptas, non voluptatem iam sentiens sed ipsa voluptas magis aliis voluptatem prebens. Haec mollitudo implens tactum et sapor recreans gustum et odor delectans olfactum et harmonia aures concilians et lux oculos reficiens est Iesus sponsus noster totus delectabilis. Cui qui propior astat is fragrat olentius. Omnes nos odoratores et odorisequi esse debemus, ut odoratum templum dei et odori simus, ut in christo odorabiles iucunda fragrantia, totum templum deum oleat. Crisma itaque nostrum christus est, quo sumus imbuti ut odorati simus.

Duodecim ale Seraphice obtegunt christum crismaque, a prophanisque
i2v tutantur. | Ipsi quoque illi spiritus priores et sine intermissione ex Iesu odorem hauriunt. Ideo circa christum crismaque depinguntur. Per angelos deinceps ad nos omnia a Iesu veniunt, qui illi assidue et indesinenter reficientes se in plenitudine Iesu incessanter exultant, concinentes sine fine Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus, pre ineffabili leticia nequeuntes cohibere. Tam summe in summo letantur.

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5 L Haec] BL, SP Hic **10** simus] BL: "sumus" with "i" in correcting hand over first "u"] SP, L simus **18–19** cohibere. Tam] BL, SP: comma inserted after cohibere, followed in BL by a corrected "T"] L cohibere; tam

God is utter tenderness, gentleness, sweetness, pleasure, delight, taste, odor, harmony, light, and uplifting joy. The God-man[257] Jesus fills all the spiritual senses with every pleasure; and he carries off to ecstasy for the sake of pleasure the bride-soul which unites with him, so that in the pleasure of God there should be all pleasure, no longer sensing pleasure but as pleasure itself offering pleasure to many others.[258] This tenderness filling the sense of touch, taste restoring the palate, odor delighting the sense of smell, harmony enticing[259] the ears, and light restoring the eyes is Jesus, our wholly delightful bridegroom. To him who stands closer to these [things] he emits a sweeter fragrance. We should all be diffusers of fragrance and followers of fragrance, so that we may be a fragrant temple of God and sweet smelling, so that in Christ we may be odor bearing with a sweet fragrance, and so that the whole temple may smell of God. Therefore the chrism is our Christ, by whom we are saturated that we may be fragrant.

Twelve seraphic wings cover the chrism and Christ and protect [it] from the profane. Also those spirits first and without stop draw out the fragrance from Jesus. Therefore they are represented as surrounding the chrism and Christ.[260] All from Jesus comes in turn to us through the angels, they who assiduously and ceaselessly restoring themselves in the fullness of Jesus exult without stop; endlessy singing together "Holy, Holy, Holy,"[261] unable to contain themselves before the unspeakable delight. So supremely do they rejoice in the highest.

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[257] Deushomo: Colet uses this epithet and variants elsewhere: see ExR 272, *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 190, and the Latin transliteration from Greek, *theant*[*h*]*ropon* (CCC 2.90). Jarrott annotates the latter by tracing the word to Origen's θεάνθρο-πος, used to emphasize the union of Christ's two natures (CCC 292 n. 5).

[258] DEH 4. 3. 10 (PG 3. 484A–B): "The most sacred order of heavenly beings … understands well that he in his divine form and unspeakable goodness became one of us." Colet supplies the language of Christ's marriage to the Church, thereby strengthening the sense of individual Christian unity with God, in contrast to Dionysius's emphasis on the diffusion of God's and Christ's grace through angelic intermediaries. In SE, Colet observes that Dionysius in DEH writes nothing about the sacrament of matrimony because it "had already come and gone," with the "true wedding" being that of God and his church, wherein priests are brides in relation to Jesus and husbands in relation to the laity; hence, the sacrament of ordination is the true Christian sacrament of matrimony (Gleason 302, 304).

[259] Concilians>concilio, OLD: "a) To bring or collect together, unite, join, press together. b) to bring a woman to a man as wife."

[260] DEH, 4. 3. 10 (PG 3. 484A), 4. 3. 5 (PG 3. 480B).

[261] Isa 6:3: "et clamabant alter ad alterum et dicebant sanctus sanctus sanctus." DCH, 7 (PG 3. 205B–C) and DCH 13 (especially PG 3. 305A); CCH offers a brief summary of the Seraphim but omits details about the Seraphs' many wings, faces, and eyes allegorized by Dionysius (7. 178).

Quum duodecim alas legis duas Seraphin intellige, quarum sex ale alteri et sex ale alteri alta et profunda celant. Media aperiunt et in media dei feruntur. Invicem ad se clamant ut gloriam invicem communicent.

Astant crismali Iesu, ut intelligamus Christum incarnatum a maiestate sua et angelis non decessisse, et inunctum pre consortibus suis ac sanctificatum ipsum esse qui inungens sanctificat. Christus Iesus unctio est ipsa quam angeli venerantur; ideo in omnibus sacris iuste adhibetur. Est eiusmodi ad nares spiritales cuiusmodi ad aures verbum dei et ad oculos
i3r eucharistia. |

	Videt		Eucharistia.
Anima	Audit	Deum: in	Verbo evangelico.
	Olfacit		Sacro unguento.

In his tribus est Iesus Christus	Eucharistie
ipsum sacramentum:	Evangelii
	Unctionis.

1 BL intellige] SP intelligit] L intelligite

When you read of twelve wings, think of two seraphs whose six wings on one side and six wings on the other conceal what is elevated and deep. They disclose things in the middle, and they proceed to the middle of God.[262] They cry out to one another in turn so that in turn they may impart glory.

They stand near the chrismal, near Jesus, so that we may understand that Christ, having been made flesh, has not departed from his majesty and from the angels, and, having been anointed and sanctified before his peers, is he who sanctifies as he anoints. Christ Jesus is the unction itself the angels worship; therefore it is appropriately used in all sacred matters. It exists in the same way for spiritual nostrils as the word of God for the ears and the eucharist for the eyes.

	Sees		the eucharist.
The Soul	Hears	God in	the evangelic word.[263]
	Smells		the sacred unguent.

In these three Jesus Christ is	Eucharist
the sacrament itself:	Gospels
	Unction.

[262] Colet's cryptic reference to the wings of each Seraphim draws on Dionysius's suggestion that their being six in number, as mentioned in Isaiah 6:2, signifies not a "sacred number" but "the intelligent and godlike powers of that supreme order … which are uplifting, liberating, and transcendent"; one pair of wings is at the Seraph's head, middle, and feet, with the one in the middle offering a means of flight in contrast to the other pairs that hide the angels' faces and feet: "if they fly only with their middle wings, know reverently that this most outstanding order among the transcendent beings looks with caution on whatever is higher and deeper than what its own intelligence can grasp, that it is uplifted by its middle wings to the proportionate sight of God, that it submits its own life to divine constraints, and that it thereby allows itself in all reverence to be led to a recognition of its own limitations" (DEH, 4. 3. 7–8 [PG 3. 481A–B]). Colet seems to think Dionysius alludes both to humankind's "middle" position in creation and to the sacramental place between the twelve wings as a sacred central position comparable to incarnate Christ.

[263] Colet allots a "sacrament" to each of the three senses stimulated by a medium other than direct touch, adding to Dionysius a sacramental presence of the Logos revealed in the sounds of the read gospels. Through the sensory incorporation of these sacraments, the mind achieves a direct route to Jesus that circumvents angelic mediation.

Et signa crucis facta unguento sancto sacramentum est semper christi et crismatis nostri crucifixi et mortui pro nobis. In baptisterio ad crucis modum oleum infunditur, quo signatur unctum ipsum crucifixum et mortuum fuisse pro baptizatis in eo et baptizatos in cruce christi mori mergique in morte christi ut in vitam illius emergant. Id est quidem quod Paulus ad Romanos scribit: An ignoratis fratres quia quicunque baptizati sumus in christo Iesu in morte et cruce illius baptizati sumus qui erat in cruce pro nobis ut nos in ea peccabundum vitam deponamus, obruamurque aquis mortis illius, consepulti cum illo per baptismum in mortem. In quo baptismo credentes in cruce christi quasi simul crucifixi morimur
i3v ad eam | vitam pro qua christus mortuus est. Ideo ait consepulti cum illo christo per baptismum in mortem, ut, quomodo christus resurrexit a mortuis in gloriam patris, ita nos emergentes lauti in novitate vite ambulemus. Ille Iesus mors est nostra sanctificans; ideo ille adest crucifixus aquis nostris. Ille eciam altare nostrum est; ideo crisma ipsum altari infunditur dum consecratur. In omnibus est christus, qui est omnia nostra, qui factus est nobis sapientia et iusticia sanctificatio et redemptio, ut (quemadmodum scriptum est) qui gloriatur in domino glorietur. Ille est revera omnia

5 BL, SP emergant] L immergant **8** BL, SP cruce] L carne. Without explanation, L changes the focus from redemption to incarnation. **8–9** L obruamurque] BL, SP obruamusque **14** adest BL: "-st" inserted in line by correcting hand

And always signs of the cross made in holy unguent are a sacrament of Christ and our chrism,[264] crucified and dead on our behalf. In the baptistry,[265] oil is poured in the shape of a cross, by which it is signified [that] the anointed himself has been crucified and slain for those baptized in him and [that] the baptized are dead on Christ's cross and immersed in Christ's death so that they rise up in his life. Paul writes the same to the Romans: Do you not understand, brothers, that we—whoever have been baptized in Christ Jesus—have been baptized in the death[266] and cross of him who was on the cross for us so that on it we might put off sinful life, be drowned by the waters of his death, [and] through baptism be buried together with him into death.[267] Believing in the cross of Christ, we, as if likewise crucified, die in that baptism for the life on behalf of which Christ died. Therefore [Paul] has it: [we have been] buried together with Christ by baptism into death, so that in the same manner that Christ rose from the dead to the father's glory, we, rising up cleansed, may walk in the newness of life.[268] This Jesus is our sanctifying death; therefore, he, the crucified, is present in our waters. He is even our altar; therefore, the chrism is poured onto the altar when it is consecrated.[269] In all is Christ, who is our all, who has been made wisdom and justice, sanctification and redemption for us, so that (as it is written) he who boasts may be boastful in the Lord.[270] In truth, he is all our sacraments and purifyings

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[264] DEH, 4. 3. 10 (3. 484B). Dionysius associates the sign of the cross in baptism with the "death" of the old and its spriritual rebirth. Since the time of Peter Lombard's and Thomas Aquinas's distinction between *sacra* and *sacramentalia*, the church included the sign of the cross, along with unction, saying the rosary, and other activities that appear similar to but not among the seven accepted sacraments as "sacramentals" ("Sacramentals," *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 13. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912. Web).

[265] Baptisterio>baptisterium, Latham; possibly also a book outlining the rite of baptism, also known as a "baptismerium," an example of which (*Cathechumenorum et benedictionis salis et aquae libellus* [n.p., 1546], "juxtra ritum Cenetensis Ecclesiae") William Maskell describes in *Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1882), I. cxlviii.

[266] Rom 6:3: "an ignoratis quia quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Iesu in morte ipsius baptizati sumus."

[267] Rom 6:4: "consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem."

[268] Rom 6:4: "ut quomodo surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam Patris ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus."

[269] DEH, 4. 3. 11–12 (PG 3. 484C–485A).

[270] I Cor 1:30, 31: "ex ipso autem vos estis in Christo Iesu qui factus est sapientia nobis a Deo et iustitia et sanctificatio et redemptio ut quemadmodum scriptum est qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur."

sacramenta nostra et purgantia et illuminantia et perficientia. Ille templum ara sacerdos sacrificium sanctificatio est nostra, qui se sanctificavit pro nobis ut nos sanctificemur in eo ipso domino nostro Iesu Christo.

[IV.3]

[D]eus quidem est in christo, christus in sacramentis, sacramenta in hominibus ad mortem eorum hic temporalem, ut homines in sacramentis ipsis
i4r iniciati sint in christo et deo in vitam eter-|nam. Omnis descensio deitatis est ad ascensionem humanitatis; omnis descensio ad mortificationem est, ut sit resurrectio ad vitam. Deus factus est homo, ut moreretur pro hominibus, utque constitueret mortificantia sacramenta in ipso credentibus – mortificantia, inquam, mortem fidelium hominum, ut immortales vivant deo. Omnia sacramenta, ut docet Dionysius Areopagita, agunt assimulationem nostri deo, quod non potest esse nisi simul agant mortificationem nostri in nobismet ipsis ut deus vivat in nobis. In sacramentis ergo morimur ipsi ut vivat in nobis christus. Per mortem itur in vitam per mortem scilicet mortis in vitam vite, per sacramenta mortificantia, in quibus omnibus est mors et crux christi, in vivificantem ipsum christum, ut in ipsis crucifixi mortui et consepulti cum christo purgati illuminati et perfecti in ipso extemus quasi resurgentes a mortuis, viventes in christo, expurgati sacramentis illius, in quibus est virtus mortis christi et crucis, per que sacramenta crucifigimus carnem cum viciis et concupiscentiis, ut virtus spiritus vivat in nobis. Omnia erant prius in christo et ab illo ad nos
i4r sunt omnia. | In illo humilitas mors sanctificatio sui: exemplum aliis ut iusti moriantur. Apud Ioannem ait, Ego pro eis sanctifico meipsum ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in veritate. Sanctus ille sanctificavit alios ut sancti illi alios sanctificent; exemplum sanctitatis prebuit hominibus. Ab illo fluunt omnia que sunt prius in ipso. Ille purgatus purgat, sanctificatus sanctificat,

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12–13 BL, SP, assimulationem] L assimilationem **18** BL: "crucifixi mortui" inserted in line by correcting hand; next line begins with suffix "-tur," struck through lightly by the correcting hand or a later reader. These added words are the last in BL by the correcting hand.

and illuminings and perfectings. He who sanctified himself for us so that we may be sanctified in him, our Lord Jesus Christ himself, is our temple, altar, priest, sacrifice, sanctification.

Chapter 4.3. Spiritual Contemplation of the Consecration of Oils

Yes, God is in Christ, Christ in the sacraments, the sacraments in men for their temporal death in this place, so that men initiated in the sacraments themselves may exist in Christ and God into eternal life. Every descent of the deity is for the ascent of humanity; every descent is for mortification so that there may be resurrection to life. God became man so that he could die for men and so that he could establish the mortifying sacraments [for those] believing in himself—mortifying, I say, the death of faithful men so that they, immortal, may live with God. As Dionysius the Areopagite teaches, all sacraments incite our assimilation to God,[271] which cannot happen unless at the same time they may move us to mortification within ourselves so that God may live within us. And so in the sacraments we ourselves die so that Christ may live in us. A journey is made through death to life, that is, through the death of death to the life of life, through the mortifying sacraments, in all of which is Christ's death and cross, to quickening Christ himself, so that crucified, dead, and buried with Christ in them we may appear purified, illumined, and perfected in him, as if rising from the dead, living in Christ, cleansed by his sacraments wherein exists the power of Christ's death and cross, through which sacraments we crucify the flesh with [its] imperfections and desires[272] so that the power of the spirit may live within us. For all things were in Christ first and from him are all things [that come] to us. In him is humility, death, sanctification of the self, an example to others so that they may die just. According to John, [Christ] says, I consecrate myself on their behalf so that they too may be sanctified in truth.[273] This holy one has sanctified others so that these holy ones might consecrate still others; he offered an example of holiness to men. From him flow all that are first in him. He, having been purified, purifies, sanctified, sanctifies, perfected, perfects.

[271] DEH, 1. 1. 3 (PG 3. 376A).
[272] Gal 5:24: "qui autem sunt Christi carnem crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis."
[273] Jn 17:19: "et pro eis ego sanctifico me ipsum ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in veritate."

et perfectus perficit. Ille est teleta nostrum, id est, sanctificatio et perfectio, quod perficit unguentum. Idcirco a veteribus telete vocatum fuit. Extrema unctio consummata christianizatio est. In unctione est significatio christianizationis; a plenitudine unctionis Iesus vocatur christus in quo omnes illius sunt uncti.

[V.1]

[E]st functio sacerdotalis muneris: ut ad ordinem honestatem et decus trahantur omnia. Omnis hierarchia tripharia distribuitur. Omnis sacri ordinis functio in teletas dividitur, id est, in perfectiones. In perficientibus | et perfectis consistit sacerdotalis muneris omnis functio, ut superiores perfecti inferiores perficiant, et hi deinceps si qui sunt inferiores, ut sint primi perficientes, secundi qui perficiuntur et perficiunt, tercii postremo qui perficiuntur. In dirivatione deitatis divinarumque racionum hominibus functio omnis et labor sacerdotalis est, ut accepta tradantur in

i5r

2 BL, SP veteribus] L maioribus **13** L dirivatione] BL, SP divinatione **13** SP, L deitatis] BL dietatis

He is our *teletê*, that is, consecration and perfection, since he perfects the unguent. For that reason it has been called *teletê* by the ancients.[274] The last anointing is perfect "Christianization." In anointing is the representation of Christianization; by the fullness of anointing Jesus Christ is called "christ," in whom all of his are anointed.

Chapter 5.1. On the Ranks of the Secular Clergy

The performance of sacerdotal office is that all things be drawn to order, honor, and glory. Every hierarchy is divided three-fold. The performance of every holy order is divided into *teletas*, that is, into perfections. The performance of every priestly office consists in perfecting and being perfected, so that the more perfected perfect those less so, and those in turn [perfect] those who are [still] less so, with the result that the first are the perfecting, the second those who are being perfected and perfecting; the third, in turn, those who are being perfected. Every performance and priestly labor is in the outflowing of the deity and divine principles to men so that the things that have been received may be passed on toward the perfection

[274] DEH 4. 3. 12 (PG 3. 485A). Dionysius uses τελετή (*teletê*) in reference to the consecration of the ointment but as Luibheid notes it is used throughout for "sacrament," joined in this case to Dionysius's two other sacraments, baptism and the eucharist (p. 232, n. 138). Wear and Dillon point out that for Dionysius, other Neoplatonists, and the Eastern church, Christ is himself a sacrament who mediates between unity and multiplicity: "Christ exists as *teletê* because he mirrors the sacramental order of divine power from above and the 'cultus of love' below" (104). Colet centers his attention on what Dionysius calls the "double sense" of the sacrament's "divine work of perfection": "God, first of all, having become man, was consecrated for us and, secondly, this divine act is the source of all perfection and of all consecration" (PG 3. 485A). More explicity, a scholium in TEH reads, *á propos* of the eucharist, "christus deus nostra sola et verissima teleta est … deum ipsam" (folio 37^{r}). Colet's use parallels a digression on the "tenth" or "leader" assigned to each nine-fold hierarchy (e.g., angels, men, spheres, sublunary elements) in the comment on 1Corinthians 12: "Always remember … to assign to each ninefold series a leader by which all are governed and measured. This leader should be traced back to God, since in each class it is absolute perfection itself, and constitutes the tenth in each order, the measure, center, and unity, to be compared to the Unity of unities" (CCC 12. 249). The idea of the "tenth" leader of each nine-fold hierarchy relates to Ptolemaic cosmography as well as angelology and the Kabbalah's *sefirot*, and to someone with Colet's syncretizing interests would be powerful.

perfectionem omnium. Telete autem et ipsa perfectio perficiens omnia ipse deus est unus et trinus qui tripharíam agit hominum perfectionem. Hinc tres sunt sub trinitate dei hierarchie spirituum, et earum queque triplex tribus distinctis ordinibus. Aperte et dilucide omnes illi ordines suscipiunt gloriosissimam trinitatem a primis per medios ad infimos angelos, divina luce accepta et transfusa deorsum. Hec benigna perfusio divine lucis et bonitatis, qua perficiantur omnia, pergit per simplices illos spiritus ad homines usque. Sed superioribus seculis, adhuc quum homines parvuli erant et sensibus teneri, subiit simplex ille divinus radius veritatis et iusti-
i5v cie, ministrante Moyse, quam plurimas et | varias umbras, quibus quasi degenerans a se simplex illa lux dei in multos et diversos colores evasit, ut tenella acies, que meram ipsam et simplicem veritatis et iusticie lucem vi et operatione potentem ferre non potuit, deluciores et quasi debiliores colores ad tempus intueatur, donec vigorosior aliquando et lucipotens oculus in ipsam veritatem sine umbris intendere poterit.

10 quam plurimas] L quam plurimus] BL, SP quamplurimas **10** quibus] BL, SP: gap left for four characters after "qu-"] L adds "-[ibus]"

of all.[275] Moreover the *teletê* and perfection perfecting all things is God himself, one and triune, who incites the three-fold perfection of men.[276] Hence three hierarchies of spirits exist below God's trinity, and the three of those also [have] three distinct ranks. Plainly and clearly all the ranks of those [hierarchies] receive the most glorious trinity from the first through the middle to the low angels, with the divine light received and carried back and forth. This generous perfusion[277] of divine light and goodness, by which all things are perfected, extends through those simple spirits all the way to men. But in former times, when men were young and inclined to the senses, that simple divine ray of truth and justice with Moses as minister came to a great many and various shadows, and in them that simple light of God, as it were declining from itself, turned into many and varied colors, with the result that the tender eye, which was unable to bear the pure and simple light of truth and justice, powerful with respect to its force and effort, could gaze for a while upon the paler and as it were feebler colors, until at last an eye stronger and tolerant of light will be able to direct itself to the truth in itself, without shadows.

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[275] Cf. DEH 5. 1. 1 (PG 3. 501A), which summarizes "previous discussion" by explaining the triadic structure of the three hierarchies: "There are the most reverend sacraments [PG 3. 501A: τελετὰς]. There are those, inspired by God, who understand and purvey them. And there are those who are sacredly initiated by these" (tr. Luibheid 233). Most plainly at this place Dionysius names the three sacraments discussed in DEH as one of three human hierarchies. Colet's paraphrase obfuscates this division, and it anticipates establishing the three hierarchies of Christians outlined later in the chapter, with the three sacraments instead allied to the Dionysian activities (ἐνεργειῶν) as purification, illumination, and perfection, each linked to a τελετῶν or sacramental mystery. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, notes Dionysius's "forced" and "strained" effort to parallel the nine ranks of angelic beings with three sacraments and six ranks of Christians (234, nn. 143, 146). Perhaps not lost on one like Colet who reads syncretically, the ten *sefirot* of the Zohar, employed by Pico della Mirandola in the *900 Theses* to describe the unity and multiplicity of the soul (Farmer, *Cabalistic Conclusions* 11>66), are represented as "ten aspects of [God's] Being" used to represent himself as *eyn sof*, "the Infinite" that is without shape or form and that is the "Source" of the flow of waters (as at Creation). The Source manifests Wisdom and Understanding and leads to seven "vessels" or characteristics by which to comprehend the incomprehensible deity: Greatness, Strength, Glory, Victory, Majesty, Foundation, and Sovereignty. However deep the gulf between the systems, the Zohar provides a sense of figurative concealment of the holy and a sense of divine outpouring parallel to Dionysius's hierarchies culminating in a divine tenth. CCC 12. 244–252, similarly aligns Dionysius's nine-fold hierarchy with a tenth, divine "leader" in angelic and natural orders as well as the human, the only natural hierarchy that ruined its original order through sin.

[276] Here and throughout Colet's discussion of Dionysian triplicities echoes Augustine's *De Trinitate*, as in Book 6, Chapters 7–9.

[277] perfusio: cf. Celsus, *De Medicina* 4.3.3 and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 18.28.

Hec est quidem sub angelis a sacro Moyse instituta hierarchia et sacerdotium legale. Qui Moyses sub angelis in monte expositus ipsi luci simplici, quod excepit veritatis – quum eam non ausus est imbecillitati hominum committere – congruis sane qui novit singula singulis accommodare sed tamen crassis admodum et denso filo contextis velaminibus quod cernebat in monte deposuit humili hominum conspectui. Et quasi pratum veritatis et iusticie subiecit oculis eorum, ut lucem in pictis moysaicis floribus despiciant, qui in celo summum iusticie solem suspicere non valuerunt. Quum enim totus mundus iacuit prorsus sine luce immo sine imagine immo eciam sine umbra omnino veritatis, adumbrandus erat celicus
i6r ordo, quasi in nuda tabula primum, ac homines | quidem instituendi in frigidis umbris mutua inter se actione opere et cultu umbratico, quod in epistola ad Colocenses elimenta vocat Paulus, que adumbratio expectaret illustracionem futuram, ut splendida imago extet aliquando suo tempore, que clarius et evidentius illam, que in celis est veritas, exprimeret. In hac tabula mundi, ita opus dei processit ab umbra in imaginem, ab hac deinde in veritatem. In hoc mundi theatro christianam hierarchiam retulit illa legalis hierarchia. Nunc christianus ludus illam cel[estem] civitatem representat.

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13 que adumbratio] L quae adumbracio] BL, SP quo adumbratio **18** celestem] BL, SP five spaces left blank on the line after "cel-"] L adds "-[estem]"

This is the sacred hierarchy and legal priesthood beneath the angels instituted by Moses. Moses, who did not dare to entrust to the weakness of men what he had received of the truth when he was exposed to the simple light itself on the mountain, did commit what he saw on the mountain to coverings—fitting ones to be sure because he knew how to accommodate individual things to individual things, but yet woven of coarse thread.[278] And he raised up their eyes to a meadow, as it were, of truth and justice, so that they who were not strong enough to look to the highest sun of justice in the heavens might look downward at light [refracted] in painted Mosaic flowers.[279] For when the entire world was cast down without any light, without any image, without any shadow of truth at all, the heavenly order had to be shaded in, as if at first on a blank slate, and men had to be educated in cold shadows with mutual activity, labor, and shadowy worship among themselves, which in the epistle to the Colossians Paul calls the "elements,"[280] a shadowing that would look ahead to the illumination to come, so that the shining image, which would more clearly and plainly represent that which is the heavenly truth, may in its time stand out at last. So upon this writing-tablet of the world, God's work has proceeded from the shadow to the image, then from that to truth. In this theatre of the world, the legal hierarchy anticipated the Christian hierarchy. Now a Christian play represents that celestial city.[281]

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[278] See DEH 5. 1. 2 (PG 3. 501B–C) on Mosaic accommodation and Ex 19–36. In Colet's sentence "imbecillitas" is explicitly a human trait, as also in SE IV (Gleason 288, 289), with reference to humanity's fallen nature. In the *Disputantiuncula de tedio, pavore, tristicia Iesu*, Erasmus, contra Colet, attributes *imbecillitas* to Jesus when he feels what, to him, seems the human loathing of the upcoming Passion; Colet argued that Jesus's agony was for the sinful humanity that would soon betray him. See Lochman, "Colet and Erasmus" (*Sixteenth Century Journal* 20.1 [1989]: 77–87). See Charles M. Stang, "Dionysius, Paul and the Significance of the Pseudonym," on Dionysius's association of apophatic experience with the revelation to Moses on Sinai, a type of Paul's rapture (*Modern Theology* 24.4 [October 2008]: 542–548).

[279] floribus suggests "poesy" or poetic artifice and medieval florilegia as compilations of the writings of the church fathers and other sources to illustrate topics, themes, doctrines.

[280] Significantly for Colet, in Col 2:8–9 Paul cautions against the false teachings of philosophy: "Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam, et inanem fallaciam secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum: quia in ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter."

[281] Colet brings to Dionysius's text the metaphors of the writing-tablet and the play, yet they seem to grow out of Dionysius's comment that Moses "described all the sacred actions of the law as images of what was revealed to him on Mount Sinai" when he transcribed God's commands (DEH 5. 1. 2 [PG 3. 501C]). See Chapter, 1, n. 13, above. L notes a similar reference to the "mundi tabula" in SE 3 (Gleason 282). DEH 5. 1. 2 (PG 3. 501D) is the source for Colet's statement that the Christian hierarchy mediates between the angelic and Mosaic ones, although the ranks of the Mosaic hierarchy remained undeveloped for both Dionysius and Colet.

Sunt hec tria que se ordine habent, et unum infra aliud subapparet superioris imago: celestis scilicet hierarchia christiana et moysaica.

Deus omnis ordinis causa:
ordo ipse omnis ordinis conditor.

	Celestis	Veritas luculenta.
Hierarchia	Christiana	Illustris imago veritatis.
	Moysaica	Adumbratio imaginis.

Mundus materies operis et quasi tabula picture

i6v Humanum genus materies, lutum unde quod velit | deus ipse effingat: ex his hominibus componit et ministro Moyse umbratica constructura adumbrat in terris hierarchiam celestem. Tunc ex quibus vult illius adumbrationis claram Iesu ministro constituit imaginem, ut celum in terra evidenter appareat. Aliquando totum erit celum, et omnia veritas. Ita quod subito decidit, longo ordine revelatum est; et quod demolita est creatura subito, creator longo temporis successu reedificat, ut restauret omnia in Iesu christo. A nihilo in umbram, ab umbra in imaginem, ab imagine in veritatem promovet, ut in veritate aliquando verificentur omnia. Quum autem homines debuerant ad deum revocari, ut illum angelico more contemplentur, tam humiles ad tam altam contemplationem fuit necesse prius trahere eos imaginariis quibusdam racionibus aliquousque, ubi consistentes aliquandiu deinde tollantur altius, unde postremo in ipsam veritatem promoveantur.

1 L unum] BL, SP anum 8 L tabula] BL, SP tabule

These are the three [hierarchies] that maintain an order, and the one, an image of the one above, appears below another: that is, the celestial, the Christian and Mosaic hierarchy.[282]

God, the cause of all order
Order itself, the founder of every order

	Celestial	. . .	brilliant truth
Hierarchy	Christian	. . .	bright image of truth
	Mosaic	. . .	a sketch of the image

The world: the raw material of the work and, as it were, the unfinished surface of the picture.

The human genus [is] the matter, the mud whence God forms what he will: from these men he, with Moses as assistant, composes and sketches the celestial hierarchy on earth, having constructed a shadowy version. Then, with Jesus as assistant, he established from whom he would a bright image of his sketch; so that, consequently, what is heavenly may appear clearly on earth. At some future point the whole will be heaven, and all [will be] truth. So what fell suddenly has been revealed by a long sequence; and what a creature tore down suddenly the creator rebuilds in a long passage of time, so that in Jesus Christ he may restore all. He promotes the [human race] from nothingness to shadow, from shadow to the image, from the image to truth, so that in truth finally all things may become true. Moreover, when men, so low for so high a contemplation, had been under obligation to be restored to God that they might look upon him as angels do, it was first necessary to lead them on with certain principles in the form of images to some place, where, standing still at that point for some time, they might be raised higher, whence they may be promoted to the truth itself.

[282] In this paragraph and the next three, Colet develops Dionysius's reference to Moses' "institutions of the hierarchy of law" in the construction of the tabernacle (DEH 5. 1. 2 [PG 3. 501C]), emphasizes its place in post-lapsarian history, sets it in a historical, progressive series of orders, and situates it in a progressive hermeneutic, from the most multiplex system to the most simple, unified, and spiritual.

Erant post casum hominis tenebre in mundo. Sol iusticie et veritatis per angelicam suos radios defundens eiusdem hierarchie umbram iacuit
i7r in terras. Suo tempore deinde sol ipse descendit, ut per se immediate | eam umbram angelice hierarchie illustret coloribus infunderetque lucem veritatis sue, unde colorata imago et angelice civitatis clarius spectetur in terris. Sublata vero tandem umbra, penitus mera lux aliquando apparebit in gloria christi, que vita est nostra abscondita in celis, que apparebit quum apparuerit ille in gloria sua. Interea ingemiscit et parturit usque adhuc omnis creatura, adoptionem filiorum dei expectans.

Ex hoc ordine licet cuique videre rationes quattuor sensuum in veteri lege, qui in ecclesia celebrantur. Litteralis est quando quid actum fuit ab hominibus illis veteribus narratur. Quando cogitas de illa imagine

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2 BL, SP gap of twelve spaces after angelicam] L [hierarchiam] **2** BL defundens] SP, L defendens **3** BL, SP tempore] L tempora **9** expectans BL, SP circa four spaces left blank] L adds [expectans] **10** Ex BL, SP: space within line before "-x"] L Ex

After the fall of man there existed a world of darkness. The sun of justice and truth, pouring down its rays through the angelic [hierarchy] cast a shadow of that same hierarchy upon the lands. Next, in its own time, the sun itself descended, so that in itself, without intermediary, it might give luster with colors to the shade of the angelic hierarchy and pour forth the light of its truth, whence one may observe on earth the colored image and greater clarity of the angelic city.[283] When the shadow is eventually removed altogether, unmixed light will at last be visible in Christ's glory, "which is our life" concealed in the heavens—which [light] will be visible when he has come in his glory.[284] Meanwhile, "every creature groaneth and travaileth in pain, even till now," "waiting for the adoption of the sons of God."[285]

From this order one may perceive the principles of each of the four senses in the old law that are celebrated in the church.[286] The literal exists whenever one narrates what ancient peoples have done.[287] Whenever you

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[283] Colet conflates the idea of elect humanity's apocalyptic spiritual vision in the city of God with the hierarchic elevation of Dionysius's community of angels in the "city of angels," so that the latter becomes a civic model. Cf. Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22.29.

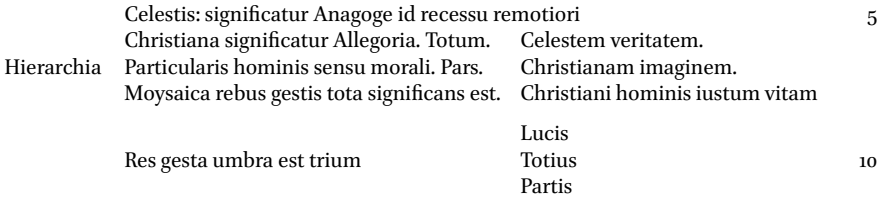
[284] Col 3:4: "Cum Christus apparuerit, vita vestra: tunc et vos apparebitis cum ipso in gloria." Colet epitomizes the four eras of religious history developed at more length in his commentaries on Romans and 1Corinthians. See CCC 3.108, 7. 154–158; ER 9/10. 158–163, 13.205–207.

[285] Rom 8:22–23: "… omnis creatura ingemiscit, et parturit usque adhuc … nos gemimus adoptionem filiorum Dei exspectantes." Focused on apocalyptic vision, Colet omits the remainder of Paul's pericope: "redemptionem corporis nostri."

[286] In this digression on hermeneutics, Colet develops the following historical series: disorder after the fall; limited order of Mosaic hierarchy; fuller order of Christian hierarchy; complete order of heavenly hierarchy. He links the series in turn to modes of interpretation in the "old law": literal narrative, allegorical figuration of the Christian law, anagogic interpretation prefiguring law in the heavenly Jerusalem. See Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, Vol. I, tr. Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998; original French, 1959), 1–14, 225–261.

[287] Colet's sketch of the four-fold method of reading the old law is minimalist, hardly more than the famous distych that Lubac attributes to Augustine of Dacia in *Rotulus pugillaris* (c. 1260) and that circulated widely in later medieval writers through works such as Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* on the Letter to Galatians (c. 1330): "Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, / Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia." Colet's association of the letter of the old law with narrative seemingly ignores non-narrative genres, such as the psalms, proverbs, and prophetic books. It is important to recognize that Colet's purpose in CEH is not to present a theory of interpretation but to establish a historical development of interpretation, from the four-fold to the simpler letter and spirit of the New Testament, with interpretation conforming to Dionysian practice in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of describing in each chapter sacramental actions and hierarchic ranks in three sections—first, an introduction and outline of specifics concerning the hierarchic rank; second, the

et ecclesia christiana, quam adumbrat, tunc capis sensum allegoricum. Quando attolleris in altum, ut ex umbra veritatem ipsam coniitias, tum suboritur tibi sensus anagogicus. Quando unius hominis institutionem ex
i7v signis animadvertis, tunc omnia tibi sonant moralia.|



In novi testamenti scriptis, nisi quando in parabolis placuit domino Iesu et apostolis loqui, quod christus sepe facit in evangeliis, Ioannis in Apocalipsi omnia, totus reliquus sermo quo vel salvator apertius edocet discipulos, vel apostoli instituunt ecclesias, habet eum sensum quem pre se fert. Nec aliud dicitur aliud significatur, sed id ipsum significatur quod dicitur: et litteralis est sensus totus. Tamen quia ecclesia dei est imagina-
i8r ria, semper in eo quod audis in dogmatibus ecclesie cogita Anago-|gen,

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2 BL, SP: ipsam] L ipsarum **2** BL, SP: coniitias] L coniicas **3** anagogicus] BL, SP: omit "n," with space] L anagogicus **4** moralia] BL: i7v is divided into two unequal columns, the larger left column including a landscape chart extending the length of the page, ninety degrees from vertical; the narrower right column includes text with normal orientation and spacing **15–16** pre se fert] BL, SP pre sefert] L pro se fert **17** dicitur] BL: single space before "-icitur"] SP, L dicitur **17** litteralis] SP, L literalis] BL "lit-" at end of short line repeated in "litteralis" in next line

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constituent rites; and third the spiritual θεωρία or meditation upon the preceding. See Gleason 135–135, though Gleason does not distinguish adequately between Colet's differing exegetical approaches to the Old and New Testaments. Older studies that proclaimed Colet a pioneer in exegetical technique, like Richard McKeon's "Renaissance and Method in Philosophy" (*Studies in the History of Ideas* 3 [1935]: 37–114), have justly been qualified or rejected. In the Prologue to the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, William Durand had, in the 13th century, anticipated Colet's implicit application of the four-fold method of scriptural exegesis to interpretation of "ecclesiastical rites and offices" since the latter figure a hidden truth (Pr. 2–12; tr. Timothy M. Thibodeau [New York: Columbia UP, 2007]), although lacking Colet's emphasis on progressive revelation and persistent bending of the four-fold method to the two-fold letter and spirit.

think of that Christian image and church that [the old law] foreshadows, you arrive at the allegorical sense.[288] Whenever you rise to the heights so that from the shadow you infer the truth, then in turn the anagogic sense enlightens you. Whenever you take notice of signs for the instruction of one man, then all seems moral to you.

	The celestial is signified by the Anagoge, more removed by its withdrawal	
	The Christian is signified by Allegory.—The Whole.	Celestial truth.
Hierarchy	The moral sense for a particular man.—Part.	Christian image.
	Each Mosaic story signifies	The Christian's just life
		Light.
	The story is a three-fold shadow of	the Whole.
		the Part.

Save when it pleased the lord Jesus and the apostles to speak in parables, which Christ often does in the gospels, [and save] all of John in the Apocalypse, all the remaining language in the New Testament, wherein either the savior more plainly teaches the disciples or the apostles teach the churches, has the sense that it carries up front.[289] Nor is anything said other than what is signified; rather, what is said is signified: and the entire sense is literal. Nevertheless, since the church of God is reliant upon the image,[290] always think of the Anagoge in what you hear in

[288] Colet's description of allegorical interpretation outlines a typology concerned with comparing, contrasting, and generally harmonizing the testaments, and it is close to Nicholas of Lyra's idea of figuration in the Old Testament, one of the two forms of literal interpretation constituting his *duplex sensus litteralis* (see *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith [Leiden: Brill 2000]), 191. Colet ignores other forms of allegory, such as the psychological allegories and allegorical significance of places, characters, and things.

[289] Colet limits the fully literal sense to direct discourse attributed to Jesus and apostles, excluding not only all the parables and the narrative of Revelation but also discourse by the narrator. Moreover, the literal sense is restricted to statements that are "more plainly" ("apertius") didactic, an ambiguous limiter that may be merely a subjective judgment or, perhaps, a way of eliminating metaphor or figurative tropes from the strictly literal. Colet hedges the domain of the literal considerably, even prior to the following sentences, which seem to subordinate all the teachings of the church, presumably including the teaching of Jesus and the apostles, to the anagoge, on the analogy of the image (the present church) to the fullness of truth.

[290] Colet's "imaginaria" is here especially complex and distinct from the idea of complete unreality found in classical writers (OLD); cf. n. 53 above. In accord with Neoplatonic emanationist ideas, the "imaginary" participates in one degree or another with that truth of which it is an "image"; as applied here to hermeneutics, Colet indicates that the "umbra" of the Mosaic hierarchy—though participant in some color due to glimmers of light—by degrees becomes the clear image—together with glimmers of truth accessible beyond the signs of language—of the Christian era. See Origen, *Commentarium ad Epistolam ad*

cuius significatio non cessabit quidem donec imago fuerit veritas. Ex his eciam conclude non semper ubi literalis sensus est ibi simul esse allegoricum; sed contra ubi sensus allegoricus est semper ibi subesse sensum litteralem.

Dies sub sole. dies est verus ille dominicus Sole iusticie illustrante omnia
In Nocte. Stelle lucentes in celo, sub christo sancti illuminati a sole. Conversatio in celis.
Stelle lucentes in aqua, sub lege, imago ecclesie aquea.
Nox caliginosa penitus sine luce. Ante legem.

Vel potest aliquis cogitare in nocte huius mundi et tenebricola hominum stellas lucentes absente sole fuisse patriarchas et prophetas, Moysen; et erant delecti septuaginta seniores quibus erat cum Moyse spiritus communicatus. De quibus est illud Petri in epistola secunda: Et habemus inquit firmiorem propheticum sermonem: cui benefacitis attendentes quasi lucerne lucenti in caliginoso loco, donec dies elucescat et lucifer

2–4 L ibi simul esse allegoricum; sed contra, ubi est sensus allegoricus, semper ibi subesse sensum literalem] BL ibi simul esse allegoricum; sed contra ubi sensus allegoricus est semper ibi subesse sensum litteralis. SP ibi ~~sit~~ simul esse allegoricum: sed contra ubi est sensus allegoricus est semper ibi subesse sensum literalis. This is a rare instance where L's reading is closer to BL's than SP's, although there is no evidence of L having consulted BL. On the remainder of i8r appears a vertical chart, ninety degrees relative to the accompanying text and in a column narrower than that for the text. **5** SP, L dies] BL die **10** tenebricola] BL, SP gap of four to five spaces after tenebrec-] L tenebre[culis]. Ramminger cites Erasmus, who attributes use of "tenebricola" to Plautus's *Trinummo* (*Adagia* in *Opera Omnia* [Leiden 1703], 4.9.36)

Romanos 7 (PG 14. 1123A–1124B) and *De Principiis* 1.2.6 (ed. Schaff), for a Neoplatonic blend of language of sonship or the "imago" and the truth pertaining to the pairs Christians-Christ, Son-Father. In turn, the Christian hermeneutic is "imaginary"—participant but partial—in its rendering of the full revelation available to the elect following the apocalypse or fleetingly in mystical experience such as the rapture of Paul, thought to be described in 2 Cor 12:2–4 and the focus of a letter in Ficino's *Epistolae* (Venice, 1495), li^{v}–liii^{r}.

the church's teachings, whose meaning will not end until the image will become truth.[291] Moreover from these [matters] draw the conclusion that the allegorical will not always exist where the literal sense does; but to the contrary where the allegorical sense exists, always the literal sense supports [it] there.[292]

In the night
Day beneath the sun. Day is that true lord's [day], when the sun of justice illumines all.
Stars shining in heaven, holy ones illumined by the sun under Christ. Citizenship in heaven.[293]
Stars shining in water, under the law, a watery image of the church.
Before the law, misty night, entirely lacking light.

Or someone might think that during the night and darkness of this world human stars far distant from the sun were the patriarchs and prophets [and] Moses; and seventy elders were chosen to whom, along with Moses, the spirit communicated.[294] Of this Peter writes in his second epistle: "And we have," he says, "the more firm prophetical word: whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn

[291] Below, Colet links the Anagoge to spiritual interpretation, rendering his hermenutic akin to that of Origen in allowing for and emphasizing a spiritual or mystical reading of the whole of scripture, in both testaments. See *De Principiis*, 1.3.4. Colet's preference for the Anagoge and spiritual interpretation, discussed in relation to other traditional senses, seems especially influenced by Pico, who, in the *Apologia*'s disputation on natural magic and the Kabbalah, links the interpretation of Hebrew rites and symbols to the Anagoge: Kabbalistic knowledge "apud nos dicitur Anagogicus: sicut enim apud nos est quadruplex modus exponendi Bibliam, literalis, mysticus siue allegoricus, tropologicus & anagogicus. Ita est & apud Hebraeos … Anagogicus dicitur Cabala, & hoc quia illa expositio quae dicitur ore Dei tradita Moysi, & accepta per successionem, modo predicto, quasi semper sensum sequitur Anagogicum, qui etiam inter omnes est sublimior & diuinior, sursum nos ducens a terrenis ad coelestia, a sensibilibus ad intelligentibilia …, a corporalibus ad spiritualia" (*Opera Omnia* 1. 178).

[292] L 197n indicates Erasmus's similar emphasis upon the substrate of the "sensus historicus."

[293] Phil 3:20.

[294] The seventy elders or Sanhedrin approximate the number of Jewish elders who, according to Philo of Alexandria in *De Vita Mosis* 2.27–44, King Ptolemy accommodated separately so that each would produce a Greek version of the Torah, later called the Septuagint, for the library in Alexandria. In Philo's version (though not others) all the elders produced an identical translation as if due to a common prompter; see Jennifer Mary Dines and Michael Anthony Knibb, *The Septuagint*, (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 61–69. An earlier pseudoepigraphic Letter of Aristeus had established the number of elders as seventy-two, each writing for seventy-two days under the influence of divine inspiration. On the Sanhedrin's role in preserving the oral tradition of the Kabbalah, identified whith anagogic interpretation, see Pico's *Apologia* in *Opera Omnia* (1557–1573), I. 178.

oriatur in cordibus vestris. Dies est veritatis christi in quo nos christiani
i8v ambulamus. | Imagines stellarum in aquis lucentes fuisse reliquam plebem, qui veritatem non cernebant nisi in fluxis signis.

plenus domini discussis omnibus nubibus et subiectis hostibus, quum erit deus
Dies omnia in omnibus
Inchoatus in christianis: cernentes solem iusticie exortum.

Lucentes stelle in celo prophete, intelligentes quid velint signa.
Nox Lucentes in aqua plebeii adherentes signis.
penitus sine luce gentes errantes in vanitate sensus sui.

Dies autem ille qui peculiariter vocatur domini, dies est ille dierum, ubi dominorum dominus in maiestate sua summum tenebit emisperium et illustrabit omnia. Nam dum hic vivimus, in matutinis et antemeridianis horis peregrinamur in meridiem cum domino cenaturi. Exorti quidem a
k1r plaga septemtrionali in meridiem tendimus. |

2 reliquam] BL: following one full line of text on i8v, vertical chart appears in right column; narrower left column includes accompanying, horizontal text.

and the day star arise in your hearts."[295] We Christians walk in the day of the truth of Christ. [And someone might also think that the] images of the stars shining on water were another people, who perceived no truth without fluid[296] signs.

Day
Full of the lord, with all the clouds scattered and enemies made subject,
when God will be all in all.
Just begun among Christians: [who are] glimpsing the dawn of the sun of justice.

Night
Shining stars in the heaven of the prophets, comprehending what the signs mean.
People shining in water, adhering to signs.
The Nations entirely lacking light, wandering in the vanity of their senses.

Further, that day specifically called the lord's is that day of days when the lord of lords in his majesty will assume the highest point of the hemisphere and illumine all things. For during the time we live here, in the early morning hours before noon, we travel to dine with the lord in the south. Having risen from the north region, we direct our steps toward the south.[297]

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[295] 2 Pet 1:19: "Et habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem: cui benefacitis attendentes quasi lucernæ lucenti in caliginoso donec dies elucescat, et lucifer oriatur in cordibus vestries." Significantly, this verse is followed immediately by the assertion that no prophetic writing is suitable for "private interpretation" since prophecy is not due to human initiative but the Spirit's "inspiration" (1:20–22). Cf. CCC 12:32.

[296] Fluxis: the metaphoric sense conveys instability and flux that contrast with the fixity and sempiternity of the stars.

[297] In the preceding paragraph, Colet moves from familiar figures of stars, day, and night—each with powerful Biblical resonances—to the less familiar imagery of watery reflections and geographic direction. Both have medieval resonance, with the waters often signifying unrestrained passion, and north, along with the other compass points, having conventional associations with good and evil. Yet both have links also to the *900 Theses* (published 1486) of Pico della Mirandola, specifically theses relating to the Cabala (Pico's and Colet's rendering of "Kabbalah"). Though the *900 Theses* cannot be proven to be Colet's direct or indirect source, Gleason does cite references by Colet to four other works by Pico, including a long section from the *Oratio* that Colet interpolates without acknowledgment into the following discussion of esoteric wisdom (338). Colet vaguely employs symbols also found in Pico's "Theses of His Own Opinion On Understanding the Orphic Hymns according to Magic, That Is, the Secret Wisdom of Divine and Natural Things First Discovered in Them by Me": see particularly 10>14: "If anyone in the work of the preceding conclusion operates intellectually, he will bind the north through the south. But if he operates wholly in a worldly way, he will bring judgment upon himself" (Farmer 511, 510n). In an annotation, Steve Farmer explains that Pico is linking the "north / judgment" with the fifth kabbalistic sefirah (*Din*), which can be associated either with the origins of evil or "with God's stern judgment," while south signifies the fourth kabbalistic sefira, *Hesed*, which signifies "love" or "piety" for Pico (*Zohar: The Book of Splendor: Basic Readings from the Kabbalah*, ed. Gershom Scholem [New York: Schocken, 1949]). If Colet does have this thesis in mind, the sequence in this sentence proceeds from the fall (associated with the north) to our avoiding the north (evil / judgment) and seeking the south (love / piety), this future locale being linked to Colet's previously mentioned "day of days."

Moyses quidem non tantum legem, quam exaratam quinque libris, posteritati reliquit, sed eciam certe in monte Syna divinitus accepit totius legis secretam et veram enarrationem interpretacionemque et sensum spiritalem aperte; quem precepit deus ne traderet litteris ullo modo nec invulgaret, sed revelaret et traderet Iesu Nave tantum, qui deinceps sancto severo et religioso [silentio u]suris primis sacerdotibus indicaret. Legem autem scriptam iussit deus ut populo publicaret, in qua per simplicem historiam nunc dei potentia ostenditur: hic ira in improbos, illic clementia in bonos, ubique in omnes iusticia, ut potentem bonum et iustum deum populus agnoscat et veneretur. In quaque eciam lege per salutaria et divina precepta instituitur multitudo ad bene beateque vivendum et cultum vere religionis.

Itaque in lege scripta spectatur duntaxat quanto in successu rerum est et bonitas et potentia dei, quomodo quisque iuste vivat, qua ratione deum colat. At vero secretiora illa mysteria et sub cortice legis rudique pretextu verborum latitantia archana videlicet illa altissime divinitatis si veteres illi stulte plebi patefecissent, id te queso quid fuisset aliud quam sanctum

6 BL, SP gap of ten or more spaces between "religioso" and "-suris"] L religioso [silentio u]suris. **9** ubique] SP: "-b-" in "ubique" inserted as superscript **13** L spectatur . . . sucessu] BL, SP spectatatur . . . succensu] **14** SP, L omit "iuste"

Moses[298] not only left to posterity the law, written in five books, but also assuredly received on Mount Sinai through inspiration the secret and true exposition,[299] interpretation, and plain spiritual sense of the whole law;[300] which God warned not to put into writing in any way, nor to publish, but to reveal it and hand it over only to Jesus the son of Nave,[301] who in turn was to proclaim [it] to high priests who were prepared to maintain a holy, strict, and religious silence. Moreover, God commanded him to publish the written law for the people, through which God's power is now revealed by simple narrative: here his anger at sinners, there his mercy toward the good, everywhere his justice for all, in order that the people should understand and revere a good and just God. In that law, moreover, healthy and godly precepts bring the many to a good and holy manner of living and the practice of true religion.

Therefore in the written law one only perceives in how great a succession of things is both God's goodness and power, how each man may live justly, in what way he may worship God. But in truth if the ancients had made accessible to those foolish people the more secret mysteries and what escapes observation beneath the coarse bark and outward appearance of words in the law—that is, those secrets of highest divinity—what else, I ask you, would that have been other than to give what is holy

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298 L observed that from this point through the reference to Sixtus IV (below, k2^{r}, bottom), Colet provides an "almost verbal transcript" from Pico, citing the *Apologia* (1487), written in defense of various charges leveled at the *900 Theses*: see *Opera Omnia* I. 175–178. A similar passage, less expansive but much closer to Colet's, appeared at the conclusion of *Oratione de hominis dignitate*: cf. the first edition of the latter (Bologna: Benedetto Faelli, 1496), f. RR2^{r-v}, Web. L notes that Colet appropriates Pico's text without acknowledgment, in contrast to his practice elsewhere, as in ER (8. 155–157), where he names Ficino as the source of a passage drawn from *Neoplatonic Theology* 14.

299 "Enarratio" conveyed a wide spectrum of meaning; here it implies interpretation without reference to a specific genre.

300 Though drawing on Pico, CEH refers often to an underlying spiritual sense available throughout scripture as well as to the meanings of Mosaic and Christian rituals. Pico and Colet draw on Origen's attribution of the spirit to the Mosaic law, as developed at length in the *Commentarium in Epistolam ad Romanos* 6 (PG 14. 1071A–1087A). As regards the spiritual reading of scripture both Lupton (ER 5n) and Gleason (337) cite Origen's comment on Romans 3:2 (PG 14. 928), which, however, lacks development. On the dissemination of Origen's works to the West through the Latin of St. Jerome and Rufinus, see Lubac 150–159; on the doctrinal errors attributed to Origen, see 178–179. L cites other references by Colet to Origen's commentary on Romans (ER 3.5n, ExR 3.95n); see Gleason for other references to Origin's commentaries on Romans and John (337).

301 Joshua, called "Jesus Nave" in the Vulgate, Ecclesiasticus 46:1; he is named as such in Pico's *Oratio* (1496), RR2^{r}.

k1v dare cani-|bus et inter porcos spargere margaritas. Quapropter sapientes illi veteres in lege profundissimam secretissimarum rerum contemplationem et abstrusioris veritatis recessum non communicaverunt nisi, clam vulgo, solis sapientibus, inter quos tantum se loqui sapientiam ad Corinthios scribit Paulus. Erat hoc sanctum institutum apud omnes sapientes veteres, ut mystica dogmata per enigmatum nodos a prophana multitudine inviolata custodirentur. Magister vite Iesus discipulis suis revelavit multa, que illi [qui]dem, ne communia fierent, vulgo scribere noluerunt. Dionysius tradit secretiora mysteria christiana a nostre religionis authoribus sine litteris medio intercedente solo verbo ex animo in animum transfusa fuisse. Eodem modo ex dei precepto vera illa legis interpretatio Moysi deitus revelata et tradita Cabala est dicta hebreo verbo, quod latine receptio est, propterea quod illam doctrinam non per literarum monumenta sed ordinariis revelationum successionibus alius ab alio quasi hereditario iure recepit.

1 BL: Meghen inadvertently repeats "-ni-" in "canibus" at top of k1v **6** SP: "-g-" in "dogmata" inserted as superscript **7** SP inviolata custodirentur] BL iviolata [sic., lacking macron] custodirentur] L inviolata custodirent **8** L [qui]dem] BL, SP gap of three spaces before "-dem" **13–14** literarum monumenta … revelationum] BL, SP litteraram monumentum . . . revelationem] L literarum monimenta . . .revelacionem

to dogs and cast pearls among swine?[302] Accordingly those ancient wise ones never spoke of the most profound contemplation of the most secret matters in the law and the secret residence of the more hidden truth—unknown to the vulgar—except to the wise, amid whom Paul writes to the Corinthians that only he speaks wisdom.[303] It was a holy practice of all the ancient wise peoples to keep unpolluted mystic doctrine from the profane multitude through "knots of riddles."[304] Jesus, the teacher of life, disclosed much to his disciples that they were not willing to write down for public consumption, lest they become common. Dionysius teaches that the more hidden Christian mysteries have been transferred from one soul to another by the founders of our religion in setting out the word alone, without writing. In the same manner, in accordance with the command of God, that true interpretation of the law which was revealed and handed down from God to Moses is called *Cabala* in Hebrew, in Latin "a reception" because teaching has been "received" not through written documents but in [its] being revealed to one after another in an ordinary succession, as if by hereditary law.[305]

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[302] Cf. Matt 7:6, cited also by Pico, *Oratio* (1496), RR2^{r}.

[303] See I Cor 1:18–31, on the reversibility of wisdom and folly emphasized by Erasmus in the *Moriae Encomium*; and 1 Cor 2:6–13 on Paul's spiritual wisdom.

[304] Colet omits a number of Pico's examples of primitive occult mysticism: Pythagoras, the Egyptian Sphinxes that were carved alongside "knots of riddles," Plato writing to Dion (Epistle 2. 321d), and Aristotle in the *Metaphysics*. To these Pico had added Origen, who "asserts that Jesus Christ, the Teacher of life, made many revelations to his disciples, which they were unwilling to write down lest they should become commonplaces to the rabble" (from *On the Diginity of Man*, tr. E.L. Forbes in Kristeller's *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* 250–251). Colet retains the exemplum concerning Jesus as "magister" in the next sentence, without reference to Origen, and then continues directly to Pico's reference to Dionysius. We have not been able to locate an exact source in Origen for Pico's claim of Jesus's occult practices with the apostles, although Origen occasionally points out the spiritual significance of ritual, as at *De Principiis* 1.3.7 (Schaff): "for this reason was the grace and revelation of the Holy Spirit bestowed by the imposition of the apostles' hands after baptism. Our Saviour also, after the resurrection, when old things had already passed away, and all things had become new, Himself a new man, and the first-born from the dead, His apostle also being renewed by faith in His resurrection, says, Receive the Holy Spirit." In the same section, Origen writes of the diversity of effects of the Spirit (citing 1 Cor 12:4–11) and encourages readers like Pico or Colet to think of Dionysius's *Hierarchies*: "There is also another grace of the Holy Spirit, which is bestowed upon the deserving, through the ministry of Christ and the working of the Father, in proportion to the merits of those who are rendered capable of receiving it" (Schaff); see CCC 12. 242–252.

[305] Colet loosely renders Pico's expression of communication of secret, unwritten mysteries "ex animo in animum," using the same language as Traversarius (f. 22^{r}) that in turn attempts to render Dionysius's more ecstatic ἐκ νοός εἰς νοῦν (DEH 1. 4 [PG 3. 376C]). The comparison to patrimony is Colet's addition to Pico.

Verum postquam hebrei a babilonica servitute restituti per Cyrum et sub Zorebabel instaurato templo ad reparandam legem animum appule-
k2r runt Esdras tunc ecclesie prefectus post emendatum moyseos li-|brum, quum plane cognosceret per exilia cedes fugam captivitatem gentis Israelitice institutum a maioribus morem tradende per manus doctrine servari non posse, futurumque ut sibi divinitus indulta celestis doctrine archana [perirent], que eorum commentariis non intercedentibus durare diu memoria non poterant, constituit ut convocatis qui tunc supererant sapientibus afferet unusquisque in medium que de legis mysteriis memoriter tenebat, et adhibitis notariis in septuaginta volumina tot enim fere in Synedrio erant sapientes redigerentur. De qua re sic Esdras ipse loquitur quarto suo libro capite decimo et tercio: Exactis quadraginta diebus loquutus est altissimus dicens, Priora que scripsisti in palam pone: legant digni et indigni; novissimos autem septuaginta libros conservabis ut tradas eos sapientibus de populo tuo. In his enim est vena intellectus sapientie fons scientie flumen. Atque ita feci.

Hi libri sunt Cabale receptionisque qui apud Hebreos tanta religione coluntur ut eos [attingere] praeterquam quadragenarios liceat nemini. In illis omnia sunt nostra aperte. Quos libros studiose curavit Sixtus quartus Pontifex Maximus docti alicuius opera transferre in latinitatem, quo
k2v vivente tres libri | legebantur. Itaque constat preter legem quam deus dedit

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1 BL servitute] SP, L servituto **7** perirent] BL, SP gap of seven spaces before “que”] L [perirent] **18** L [attingere] praeterquam] BL, SP gap of nine spaces before “preter quam” **20** Pontifex Maximus] L Pontifus Maximus] BL, SP Pon. Max. **21** legebantur] BL “legeban-“ ending k2r repeated k2v] SP, L omit repetition

But after Cyrus restored the Hebrews from Babylonian slavery and when the temple was restored under Zerubbabel, the Hebrews had turned their attention to restoring the law, Esdras, then prefect of the church, after having emended Moses' book, when he clearly recognized the impossibility of preserving the custom established by the ancestors of transmitting the doctrine hand to hand through exiles, slaughters, flight, and captivity of the Israelite people, and anticipating the destruction of the secrets of heavenly teaching entrusted to him from above, since they could not retain [it] in memory for long without the intercession of written documents, arranged that each of those wise men who were present, having been called together, should bring into the open what he recalled memorially of the law's mysteries, and that [those teachings] should be collected in seventy volumes (nearly the same number as the wise men in the Sanhedrin[306]) by appointed scribes. On which subject Esdras spoke in his fourth book, chapter 13: After forty days, the highest one spoke, saying, First take what is to be written publicly: the worthy and unworthy [will] read [it]; however, you will retain the last seventy books so that you may pass them on to those of your people who are wise. For in these is the spring of understanding, the fount of wisdom, the flood of knowledge. And so I did.[307]

These are the books of Cabala and reception that the Hebrews care for with such reverence that no one of less than forty years may touch them. In them all things are accessible to us. Sixtus IV, the Pontifex Maximus, made the effort to translate those books into Latin by the help of some learned man, and while he was alive three books were being read.[308] Therefore it

306 See n. 294.

307 Colet omits Pico's inaccurate addition, "And these are the words of Esdras to the letter" (Forbes tr. 252). The cited text, though based on 2 Esdras 14:6–8 ("haec in palam facies verba et haec abscondes et nunc tibi dico: signa quae demonstravi et somnia quae vidisti et interpretationes quas tu audisti in corde tuo repone ea") conflates the verses in 2 Esdras with the organization of the Sanhedrin (Ezra 7:25–8:30), Esdras as "priest" (Neh 8:4–12), Origen's language of God as a fountain (e.g., *De Principiis*, 1.8.3), and the concluding words of 2 Esdras 14. Colet adds the (inaccurate) citation and omits Pico's allegorized explanation of the three water images, which link the "spring of understanding (intellectus)" to the "ineffable theology of the supersubstantial deity"; the "fountain of wisdom" to the "metaphysic of the intellectual and angelic forms"; and the "stream of knowledge" to the "philosophy of natural things" (Forbes tr. 252).

308 Philip Beitchman cites Colet's references as the earliest evidence of Kabbalistic influence in England, (*Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* [Albany: SUNY P, 1998]). Beitchman mentions Colet's reference to Sixtus, via Pico, as Latin translator of the Kabbalah and interest in reading Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica*. By tradition, Sixtus IV translated seventy books of the Kabbalah into Latin.

Moysi in monte Syna et quam ille quinque libris scriptam contentamque reliquit revelatum, quoque fuisse eidem Moysi ab ipso deo veram legis expositionem cum manifestatione omnium mysteriorum et secretorum que sub cortice et rudi facie verborum legis continentur, duplicemque accepisse legem Moysen in monte litteralem et spiritalem. Illam litteralem scripsisse et ex precepto dei populo tradidisse. Hanc spiritalem sapientibus solum qui erant septuaginta communicasse quos ex precepto dei elegerat Moyses [ad] legem custodiendam, quibus precepit ne eam scribere[nt] sed successoribus suis viva voce revelarent et illi deinde aliis a qua vicicitudinaria receptione fuit vocata Cabala, que scientia postea in scripta venit, qui libri aperte continent omnia secreta et mysteria que in lege litterali velantur. Que secreta, ut sentit Origenes, vocat Paulus eloquia dei, que vivificant legem, sine quo spiritu vivificante lex mortua iacet.

Illa expositio et spiritalis sensus quem accepit Moyses a deo totius legis ut diximus litteralis erat is quem nos vocamus Anagogicum. Sicut enim
k3r apud nos est quadruplex [ratio] exponendi biblie quadruplexque sensus | litteralis Misticus Allegoricusque Tropologicus et Anagogicus, ita apud Hebreos. Sed Cabala anagogicum sensum persequitur qui erat traditus Moysi ab ore dei qui est sublimior et divinior sursum nos trahens et ducens a terrenis ad celestia, a sensibilibus ad intelligibilia, a temporalibus ad eterna, ab infimis ad suprema, ab humanis ad divina, a corporalibus ad spiritualia. Sectantur iudei terrena sensibilia temporalia infima humana

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8 L inserts [ad] **8–9** scriberent] BL, SP gap of two spaces] L adds -[nt] to scribere, parallel to revelarent later in sentence **10** BL vicicitudinaria] SP, L vicitudinaria. Ramminger cites 14th- and 15th- century usages of "vicissitudinaria" by Coluccio Salutati, Gianozzo Manetti, and Niccolò Canussio. **10** L omits "fuit" after vocata, included in BL, SP **16** L inserts [ratio]; lacking without gap in BL, SP

is established that besides the Law which God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai and which he [Moses] left in written form and contained in five books, there was also given to that same Moses by God himself a true exposition of the law, with the disclosure of all the mysteries and secrets contained beneath the bark and coarse face of the law's words,[309] and that on the mountain Moses had received a two-fold law, the literal and the spiritual. The literal, it is agreed, Moses wrote and taught to the people by God's precept; the spiritual he communicated to the wise only, who were seventy in number, whom Moses had chosen by God's precept to guard the law [and] whom he admonished not to write down [the spiritual law] but reveal it orally to their successors and those in turn to others, by which reception from one to another it came to be called the "Cabala," whose knowledge eventually came to be written afterward [and] whose books, laid bare, comprise all the secrets and mysteries that are concealed in the literal law. Which secrets, as Origen perceived, Paul calls God's oracles, which give life to the law, without which life-giving spirit the law lies dead.[310]

That exposition and spiritual meaning of the entire—as I said, literal—law Moses received from God was for [the Jews] what we call the anagogic. For as among us so among the Hebrews there is a four-fold method of Biblical interpretation—a four-fold sense: the literal, mystic and allegorical, tropological and anagogic. But the Cabala follows constantly the anagogic sense that was communicated to Moses from the mouth of God, which is more sublime and divine, drawing us to the source and leading from the earthly to the celestial, from the sensible to the intelligible, from the temporal to the eternal, from what is low to what is highest, from the human to the divine, from the corporal to the spiritual. The Jews continually

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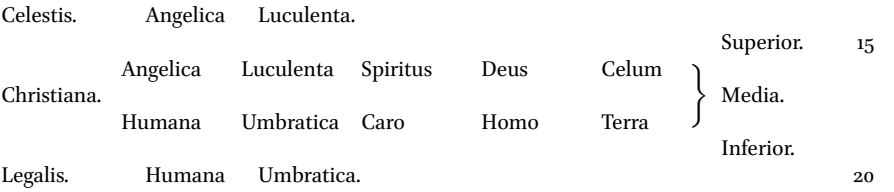
309 In contrast to Colet's more neutral stance on the letter in the triadic corporate analogy, the association of the letter with body here, under the influence of Pauline and Origenian duality and 2 Cor 3:6, leads to a negative assessment. See Ruth Clements, "Origen's Readings of Romans in *Peri Archon*: (Re)Constructing Paul," *Early Patristic Readings of Romans*, ed. Kathy Gaca and Lawrence Welborn (T&T Clark, 2005), who contrasts the triple and dual hermeneutics in Origen. See n. 317 below.

310 Cf. Origen, *De Principiis* Pref.8: "the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, and have a meaning, not such only as is apparent at first sight, but also another, which escapes the notice of most. For those (words) which are written are the forms of certain mysteries [sacramentorum] and the images of divine things. Respecting which there is one opinion throughout the whole Church, that the whole law is indeed spiritual; but that the spiritual meaning which the law conveys is not known to all, but to those only on whom the grace of the Holy Spirit is bestowed in the word of wisdom and knowledge" (Schaff 4.425). See Rom 3:2 on the "oracles" or *eloquia* of God.

corporalia, que sunt omnia in littera occidente. Qui vocantur in spiritum, christiani; ii celestia intelligibilia eterna superna divina spiritalia sectantur, et id plane: quod revelatum fuit Moysi a deo et ab eodem Moyse septuaginta delectis traditum – qui sensus celestis et supernus est, [ad] quam divinam veritatem propius vocati sunt homines a christo ut altius sapiant quam iudei et rectius vivant: qui sensus est anagogicus.

Ad quem scribit Dionysius duces esse eos qui a Moyse sanctum tabernaculum sacratius didicerunt; quos intelligamus fuisse septuaginta sapientes, quos delegit Moyses ut eos expositionem legis doceret. At ut cum fide et charitate credamus celestia, dux erit Iesus christus, qui eduxit nos de egypto et extra eciam terrenam promissionem terrestremque Ierusalem | constituitque nos sub se hierarchiam clariorem, que ad legalem hierarchiam se habeat ut finis et perfectio.

k3v



Cuius huius nostre deinde finis et extrema perfectio celestis est illa et superna, inter quam et legalem (ut tradit Dionysius) media est nostra; que ut medium decet, aliquatenus utraque extrema in se comprehendit,

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2 BL christiani] SP christianum] L Christianum **4** BL, SP supernus est quam, with gap of two spaces before "quam"] L supernus est. [Ad] quam. **12** k3v] BL: vertical chart, ninety degrees from horizontal, occupying left column, extending from top of page to two lines above the foot of k3v; slightly narrower right column with regular, horizontal text **13** BL habeat] SP, L habet

follow the earthly, perceptible, temporal, low, human, corporal; which are all in the killing letter.[311] Those who are called into the spirit, namely Christians, continually follow things that are celestial, intelligible, eternal, high, divine, spiritual, and whatever had been revealed plainly to Moses by God and by Moses communicated to the chosen seventy—which is the heavenly and celestial sense, to which divine truth Christ calls men closer so that they may understand more deeply and live more correctly than the Jews: which is the anagogic sense.

Dionysius writes that the leaders toward this sense were those [seventy] who learned about the holy tabernacle from Moses to a more holy degree; and we understand those leaders to have been the seventy wise men Moses chose so that he might teach them the law's exposition.[312] But that we may believe the things of heaven with faith and charity, our leader will be Jesus Christ, who has brought us out of Egypt and even beyond the earthly promise and earthly Jerusalem and has established us under himself as a clearer hierarchy that acts as the limit and perfection of the legal hierarchy.

Celestial.	Angelic	Shining				Higher
Christian.	Angelic	Shining	Spirit	God	Heaven	Middle
	Human	Shadowy	Flesh	Man	Earth	
Legal.	Human	Shadowy				Lower

In turn the end-point and ultimate perfection of this our [hierarchy] is that celestial and supernal [hierarchy], between which and the legal (as Dionysius teaches) ours is the mean; which, as is fitting for a mean, unites each of the two within itself in some measure, having both a spiritual

[311] 2 Cor. 3:6–8: "qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros novi testamenti: non littera, sed Spiritu: littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat. Quod si ministratio mortis litteris deformata in lapidibus fuit in gloria, ita ut non possent intendere filii Israël in faciem Moysi propter gloriam vultus ejus, quæ evacuatur: quomodo non magis ministratio Spiritus erit in gloria?"

[312] DEH 5. 1. 2 (PG 3. 501C); translated in TEH 35^{v} (cited in part at L 113n) as follows: "Huic autem legali sacerdotio teleta fuit: ad cultum spiritalem obsequiumque provectio. Duces vero ad eam ii sunt: qui sanctum illud tabernaculum a Moyse sacratius didicerunt, primo scilicet legalium sacerdotum preceptore ac duce. Ad quod sacrum tabernaculum cum imbuendis rudibus legale sacerdotium pingeret: ad ostensi sibi in syna monte exemplaris imaginem omnia que secundum legem consumarentur evocabat." Dionysius goes on to contrast this legal hierarchy with the "more perfect" scriptures and mysteries of "our" faith; Colet specifically refers here to Jesus Christ and names him "dux," again recalling the *teletê* and tenth "leader" he assigns to every hierarchy, including Christian society (CCC, 12. 242–250).

habens tum ex superiori spiritalem et lucentem intelligentiam, tum ex inferiori carnalem corporalemque et sensibilem significationem. Nam
k4r quamdiu homines sumus vel spiritalissimi signis omnino carere non | possumus. Inferior superiorem refert ut possit modo suo. Omnia que sunt in celesti hierarchia eadem sunt in christiana modo imaginario. Omniaque que sunt in christiana precesserant in legali modo umbratico.

Itaque cogitemus in christiana ecclesia tris hierarchias et has quoque triplices; ut sint in nobis sicuti in angelis novem ordines, angelicos gradus imitantes, quorum umbre in litterali lege antecesserunt, quorum omnis functio versatur in sanctificatione, ut homines deo, qui sanctus est,

3 BL omnino] SP, L omnia **5** L imaginario] BL, SP imaginaria **6** precesserant] L praecesserant] BL, SP precesserunt **8** BL, SP sicuti] L sicut **10** L functio] BL, SP fuctio, omitting macron

and shining intelligence from the higher, and from the lower, a carnal, corporeal, and perceptible symbolism. For in that we are men, even if of the most spiritual kind, we cannot be entirely free of symbols. Those who are lower represent the higher in their own manner, so far as possible. All that exist in the celestial hierarchy exist also in the Christian, in the mode of what is perceived as images; and all that exist in the Christian [hierarchy] existed previously in the legal in the mode of what is perceived as shadowy.[313]

Therefore we should think of three hierarchies in the Christian church, and these also [as] triple; so that there should exist among us, as among the angels, nine orders imitating the angelic ranks, whose shadows existed before under the literal law, whose every action[314] is concerned with sanctification so that men may be assimilated to God, who is holy; [and that]

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[313] modo umbratico. Colet follows Dionysius in asserting the three historical domains: Mosaic, Christian, heavenly (DEH 3.501D; TEH 2.35^{v}), with the Christian as the mean participating in both extremes. Colet's association of these three hierarchies with three modes of interpretive clarity brings to a close a digression on hermeneutics that progressed from the four-fold method to the Pauline letter-spirit and finally to the triadic, historically progressive unfolding of meaning consonant with the legal, Christian, and celestial hierarchies. Origen develops this triadic relation between hermeneutics and history and adds a tripartite conception of body-soul-spirit that Colet alludes to in Chapters 5 and 6 and in his treatise on the mystical body (*Opuscula* 187–193); Origen also develops a tripartite division of interpretive modes, modeled on the tripartite self: the "corporeal sense for history, psychical sense for morality, and spiritual sense for allegory (or anagogy)" (Lubac 142–143, quoting *De Principiis* 4.2.4 PG 14. 312–313): "Each one, then, ought to describe in his own mind, in a threefold manner, the understanding of the divine letters—that is, in order that all the more simple individuals may be edified, so to speak, by the very body of Scripture; for such we term that common and historical sense: while, if some have commenced to make considerable progress, and are able to see something more (than that), *they* may be edified by the very soul of Scripture. Those, again, who are perfect, and who resemble those of whom the apostle says, We speak wisdom among them that are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, who will be brought to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God, hidden in a mystery, which God has decreed before the ages unto our glory;—all such as these may be edified by the spiritual law itself (which has a shadow of good things to come), as if by the Spirit. For as man is said to consist of body, and soul, and spirit, so also does sacred Scripture, which has been granted by the divine bounty for the salvation of man" (Schaff, tr. from Rufinus, 4.11). Lubac (143–144; 366, n. 6) quotes a similar tripartite relation of body to interpretation in Origen's commentary on Leviticus (PG 12. 412C–D). In ER, Colet cites the three "natures" of man as body, soul, and spirit, corresponding to Christ's "trina compositura" (155). Colet may have perceived a similar tripartite pattern of analysis in Dionysius's division of chapters into description of each "rite" or hierarchic "order," the illuminating "mysteries" or sacramental significances of the rites and consecration, and the mystical "contemplations" the mysteries provoke.

[314] functio, with a medieval suggestion of "rite" (Latham).

assimilentur; in quibus sint sancti quidam primi et summi sanctificantes, quidam sanctificati, quidam inter ho[s] medii sanctificati simul et sanctificantes. Omnes autem ministri dei in derivationem deitatis in plenam tandem hominum sanctimoniam. Omnes student imitari angelicos ordines, ut prima trinitas purget, secunda illuminet, tercia perficiat et compleat: ut tota ecclesia sit purgata illuminata et perfecta in deo. Purgatio est in depositione quicquid erat nostri, eciam maxime spei in nobismet ipsis, ut versi in deum speremus in ipso. Illuminatio in fide est revelatis, que est sapientia nostra. Perfectio in completione charitatis est, que
k4v plenitudo legis et iusticie est. Purgant illuminant et | perficiunt summi;
purgantur illuminantur et perficiuntur infimi, iam iniciati sacris baptizati et conf[ir]mati. Purgantur et purgant eciam medii ipsi lucentes iam et illuminantes purgatos ad completionem. Complent et perficiunt supremi in

1 BL sint] SP, L sunt **2** hos] BL, SP: gap of two spaces after ho-] L hos **3** derivationem] BL dirivatione] SP, L dirivationem **8** L ipso] BL, SP blank space after "ips-" **12** L conf[ir]mati] BL, SP gap of two spaces: "conf-mati"

among [the angels] some of the holy should be first and foremost sanctifying, some sanctified, some in the middle between them both sanctified and sanctifying. All are God's ministers in the overflowing of the Deity for the ultimate, fulfilled sanctity of man.[315] All strive to imitate the angelic orders, with the result that the first trinity purifies, the second illumines, the third perfects and completes so that the entire church may be purified, illumined, and perfected in God.[316] Purification exists in putting off whatever was ours, even in particular the hope in our own selves, so that turned to God we may hope in him. Illumination exists in faith in what has been revealed, and that is our wisdom. Perfection is the completion of charity, which is the fulfillment of the law and justification.[317] The highest purify, illumine, and perfect; the lowest, already initiated, baptized, and confirmed by the sacred rites, are purified, illumined, and perfected. Those in the middle are being purified, and as well they purify; themselves already shining they illumine those who have been purified on toward completion. The highest [triad], among whom there should exist the greatest

[315] At this point Colet departs from Dionysius's text by asserting that the human hierarchy is composed entirely of men, rather than, as Dionysius would have it, a mix of one sacramental triad (comprising baptism, the eucharist, and muron) and two of men. As will become clear, Colet eliminates the sacraments from the hierarchic orders, making them universal divine functions or actions of purification, illumination, and perfection (or, in Colet's scheme, the sources of Paul's hope, faith, and charity). In so doing he ignores Dionysius's assertion that the human hierarchy "has a threefold division, namely the most holy operations of the sacraments [discussed in the preceding chapters], the godlike dispensers of holy things, and those guided by them, according to capacity, toward the sacred" (DEH 5. 1. 2 [PG 3. 501D]). Dionysius subsequently provides an overview of each triad of the "threefold division" that makes it clear that, difficult as it may be to conceptualize, the sacraments constitute the topmost ranks in the human hierarchy (5. 1. 2–3 [PG 3. 504A–B]), with all affected by the powers of purification, illumination and perfection. Colet silently omits the division and its translation by Traversarius: "Porro ternarium numerorum pontificalis distributionis eque habet: dum in augustissimas mysteriorum sacrorum sanctificationes dividitur et in augustiores santarum rerum ministros atque in eos qui ab his ad sacramenta suo ordine et pro captu suo quicque subvehuntur" (35^{v}).

[316] Dionysius aligns the functions of purification, illumination, and perfection with the sacraments rather than with human orders, linking baptism to purification and illumination and synaxis or the eucharist and consecration of muron with illumination and perfection (DEH 5. 1. 3 [PG 3. 504C]); the same association occurs in TEH 36^{r}.

[317] Colet aligns the divine actions with Paul's three virtues, in the order Colet established in the latter section of ER (12.179: "concludamus ergo, spe nos esse, fide sapere, charitate bonos esse") under the influence of Ficino's faith and love in the *Neoplatonic Theology*, which also influenced Colet's exposition of Romans 8 (ER 8. 155–157). In 1 Corinthians, the hope-faith-love sequence is given historical reference in the Mosaic-Christian-heavenly eras as well as in the soteriological development of the Christian individual (CCC 7. 156–158). Cf. DEH 5. 1. 2–4 (PG 3. 504A–C). On the development of Colet's soteriology in relation to these triads and the additional Ficinian unity-intellect-will, see Jayne 58–68.

ecclesia, in quibus debet esse summa vis stabiliendi homines in spe et illuminandi in fide et denique perficiendi in charitate. Illic et ab illis primariis in ecclesia aguntur eadem que a mediis, et ab his eadem que a primis. Ab omnibus enim agitur simul purgatio illuminatio et perfectio.

Hec enim tres operationes, ab una causa operate, separari non possunt quidem, sed a mediis ad illustriorem notam efficiuntur illa eadem que a primis, ab ultimis postremo illis et supremis ad illustrissimam. Tota illa operatio divina in celestibus tendit in assimulationem deo in representacionem trinitatis: unitatem pulchritudinem et bonitatem illius. Hinc tres

5 L tres] BL, SP tris 8 BL, SP assimulationem] L assimilationem

power for establishing men in hope, illumining [them] in faith, and at last perfecting [them] in charity, fulfill and perfect within the church. There too, by those of the first rank in the church the same things are done as by the middle rank, and by them the same things are done as are done by the first [i.e., lowest].[318] For purgation, illumination, and perfection are set in motion by all together.

For these three operations,[319] operated by one cause, cannot really be separated; but they are enacted for more illustrious notice by those in the middle than by those [who are] first, and finally for the most illustrious [notice] by the ones [who are] last and highest. For that entire divine operation in the heavens aims at assimilation to God in the representation of the trinity: its unity, beauty, and goodness.[320] From that are the three

[318] primis; here 'least,' 'lowest.'

[319] OLD 1: operatio: "devotion of effort to a task, activity, operation, working (of natural forces)." Colet generally associates "operatio" with activity, yet it conveys a number of interrelated associations, some rooted in theology. In this place, he links "operations" specifically to the Dionysian triad of purification-illumination-perfection, yet for Dionysius (as in TEH) "operation" tends to refer to a rite performed by the hierarchs or the theurgic source of mystical understanding of those rites (see DEH's θεουργιχῶν 1. 5 [PG 3. 377B]). DEH had linked purification-illumination-perfection to degrees of divine understanding (DCH 209C: θεαρχιχῆς ἐπιστήμης) or the emanative powers flowing from the Godhead to men through the sacraments. In CCC, "operations" are linked to "opera" as the external manifestations of the internal "action" of charity (= perfection) wherein alone one accrues merit since one acts to effect the works of the Spirit (CCC 13.264: "opera Spiritus"); see also CCC 13.260: "homo sic amatus a Spiritu Dei ut redamet, redamansque perfectus quum sit, temetsi tunc suapte forma et charitate agit et operatur in ecclesia quam plurima, tamen certe ipse suarum operationum non est primaria causa, sed iam vivum et perfectum est instrumentum, coagens cum eo et in eo qui maxime agit, Spiritu Dei." The idea of charitable action having a dual internal and external manifestation (Colet's "actio" and "operatio") is similar to Ficino's distinction in *Theologia Platonica*, 18.1, cited in CCC 13. 331–332, n. 13. Available senses of "operatio" extended to medical descriptions of bodily motion and to the "different ways of acquiring occult knowledge, sought for contemplative or prophetic reasoms more often than for material ends" achieved by natural or other forms of "magic" (Farmer 128–129).

[320] We have been unable to locate an exact parallel for this series, whose triadic order evokes the angelic orders and the Trinity (Father-Son-Holy Spirit), in the spirit of but distinct from Bonaventure's 21st and 22nd Collations on the *Hexaemeron*, as well as Plotinian Neoplatonism. DN treats all three but without an exact parallel to persons of the Trinity, at one point calling "the One, the Good, the Beautiful" the undifferentiated "Cause of the multitudes of the good and beautiful" (see Luibheid 4.7, p. 77 [PG 3. 704B]; see also Chapter 2 in the same). The urge to form triadic series echoes Augustine's in *De Trinitate*, but there are in the latter no parallels to Colet's series or the associations with the persons of the Trinity. Cf. ER 12.181, where Colet also employs the series, but without reference to the Trinity: "Qui unus unit divisas, constans sistit vaga, clarus illuminat obscura, ardens incendit frigida, dispersa congregat, dissidencia conciliat, dissolute componit, inordinacione difformia coordinat pulchraque facit; qui denique ubique, in quibusque residet, efficit sua salutari presentia, ut mirum in modum ubique unitas, pulchritudo et bonitas appareat."

sunt operationes: purgatio illuminatio et perfectio. Effectus purgationis est unitas, simplicitas, potentia, constantia, stabilitas, qui in illis unum quiddam est quo firmiter se sistunt in deo. Effectus illuminationis est speciosa varietas, veritas, ordo, pulchritudo, sapientia, claritas – que verba
k5r idem quid-|dam significant et in angelis in multiformem quandam divini verbi scientiam. Perfectionis demum effectus est bonitas, benignitas, amor, perfectio, charitas. He operationes in nobis eciam habent suos effectus ad similitudinem unitatis veritatis et bonitatis in angelis. Unitas enim nostra, quo tendit purgatio nostri, est spes, que certe est simplicitas et stabilitas nostra. Veritas nostra est fides veritati omniformi, que erat in Iesu christo. Bonitas et perfectio nostra est amor boni. Ad hec tendit omne munus et functio in christi ecclesia.

Potest in his sperantibus cogitari tria genera et tria genera credentium et amantium tria genera – non quod quisquam est in ecclesia non amans aut non credens, omnia enim sunt in omnibus – sed quod hec secundum gradus distinguuntur et secundum maiorem et minorem participationem divini radii variantur, qui est unus, et idem quoque agens in omnibus; sed pro distinctione graduali varia est nominum sorti[tio] et suum cuique proprium. Quisque in gradu suo pro dato munere fungitur officio; omnes collaborant in abstractione ab hoc mundo et sanctificatione hominum
k5v deo. Nunc, inquit Paulus, liberati a peccatis servi facti | deo habemus fructum nostrum in sanctificationem, finem vero in vitam eternam.

Apud Dionysius tris sunt nominati ecclesiastici ordines pontificum sacerdotum et ministrorum. Pontificum munus est amplissimum, potens quicquid inferius potest, habens preterea et suum proprium officium, quod est eucharistiam conficere, unguentum sanct[um] consecrare, sacerdotes efficere; unde constat eum illum appellare pontifices quos posterior ecclesia vocat sacerdotes, sacerdotes ferme eos qui diaconi vocantur. Sacerdotum apud illum officium est purgatos a ministris sacris

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2 BL, SP qui] L quae **13** L (241n) alters "sperantibus" to "sperantium," parallel to "credentium" and "amantium" **14** L quisquam] BL, SP quisque **16** BL, L distinguuntur] SP distinguntur **17** BL, SP quoque] L quodque **18** L sorti[tio]] BL, SP gap of three spaces after "sorti-" **26–27** L omits "unguentum . . . efficere" in translation **26** sanctum] SP, L adds "-um," filling two blank spaces in BL

operations: purification, illumination, and perfection. The effect of purification is unity, simplicity, power, constancy, stability, which exists among them as a certain unity by which they establish themselves firmly in God. The effect of illumination is beautiful variety, truth, order, beauty, wisdom, clarity—as regards the angels the same words signifying a certain multidimensional knowledge[321] of the divine word. Finally the effect of perfection is goodness, kindness, love, perfection, charity. These operations have their effects within us according to [their] resemblance to unity, truth, and goodness among the angels. For our unity, towards which our purification aims, is hope, which is surely our simplicity and stability. Our truth is faith in the omniform truth that was in Jesus Christ. Our goodness and perfection is love of the good. Toward those things every office and function in the church of Christ strives.

One may consider the ranks of those concerned with hope [as] three, the ranks of those in faith [as] three, and the ranks of those in love [as] three—not that anyone in the church is not loving or believing, for all things are in all—but they may be distinguished by rank, and they are adorned with various colors according to [their] greater or lesser participation in the divine ray, which is one and also inciting the same in all; but for a distinction of grade there is a various designation of names, and each is appropriate to its own. Each office serves a given function in its degree; all work together for the drawing up of man from this world and for [his] sanctification to God. Paul says that, "now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto sanctification, and the end life everlasting."[322]

Three ecclesiastical orders are named by Dionysius: [those] of pontifices, priests, and ministers. The pontifical office has the broadest scope, being able to do whatever the lower [one] can and in addition having its own proper duty, which is to confect the eucharist, consecrate the holy unguent, and prepare[323] priests; whence it falls to [Dionysius] to call pontifices those whom the later church calls priests, priests those who are usually called deacons.[324] In [Dionysius], the office of the priests is to

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[321] Multiformem scientiam. On the relation of human and divine beauty, Colet annotates Ficino's epistle *De divine furore* as follows: "Pulchra fingamus ut divine pulchritudinis memores esse possimus" (Jayne 91).

[322] Rom 6:22: "Nunc vero liberati a peccato, servi autem facti Deo, habetis fructum vestrum in santificationem, finem vero vitam æternam."

[323] efficere>not with this specific sense in Latham or OLD.

[324] Colet does not develop this interesting historical contrast of sacerdotal offices.

iniciare, et illa que ad s[uos] sunt prebere, [et] indicationem mysteriorum relinquere pontifici.

Nam vult ministros secernere et separare homines a mundo et seipsis, et quasi exuere eos pristina consuetudine penitus et denudare, ut nihil habeant contrarii quo minus illuminentur a sacramentis, sed sint excusso et exterso pulvere puri tanquam tabula rasa apti iam ut in eis celestis imago depingatur. Qui quum ita a ministris parantur tunc offeruntur sacerdotibus. Hi quum eos nihil macule habere inspiciunt nihilque olere gravis vetustatis, summeque esse dispositos ut effingantur et formentur
k6r in christo, ut, sicut porta-|verunt imaginem terreni, ita portent imaginem celestis, eos quasi depingit sacramentis, inicians eosdem sacerrimis signis cum quibus saltem credentibus operatur spiritus dei.

Hic in manibus sacerdotum illuminantur, ut perficiantur et compleantur a pontifice. Completio autem omnis pontificis est, qui plenus censetur. Is eucharistiam prebet, et sacro unguento confirmat, et signaculorum mysteria dignis indicat, ut in manibus pontificis, si habeantur idonei, in omnibus perficiantur, ex illoque perfecti proficiscantur in locum et gradum muneris sui uti pontificis sapientia iuste disponit. Per diaconos ministrosque introducuntur puri in ecclesiam; per sacerdotes promoventur sacramentis illuminatoriis; a pontifice perficiuntur mysteriis perfectoriis.

1 ad suos] BL, SP gap of four spaces after “ad s-“] L adsueta

initiate the purified to the sacred rites by ministers, to offer the things that are germane to their office, and to leave the explanation of the mysteries to the pontifex.

For he wishes the ministers to part asunder and separate men from the world and themselves, as it were to strip them of their former mode of life and to lay them bare completely, so that they may possess nothing contrary whereby the sacraments may illumine them less, that they may be pure, with the dust shaken out and rubbed off, always ready like a clean slate so that the heavenly image may be figured upon them.[325] When they have been prepared in this way by the ministers, they are brought before the priests. Those, they inspect to ensure they have no stain, carry no oppressive odor from the past, and are best prepared to be fashioned and formed in Christ, so that, just as they have carried the image of the earthly, they may carry the image of the heavenly;[326] [a priest] paints them, as it were, with the sacraments, initiating the same in the most sacred signs with which God's spirit is actualized, for those who believe, at least.

At that point [those receiving orders] are illumined through the hands of priests, so that they may be perfected and completed by a pontifex. Now, every completion is through the pontifex, who is considered complete. He offers the eucharist, confirms with sacred unguent, and teaches those worthy the mysteries of signs, so that, if they be considered fit, in the hands of the pontifex they are perfected in every way, and from him the perfected are sent out according to the place and degree of their office, as pontifical wisdom justly disposes. The pure are led into the church by deacons and ministers; they advance to more illuminating sacraments through the priests; they are perfected in the more perfect mysteries by the pontifex.[327]

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[325] DEH 5. 1. 6 (PG 3. 505D). Cf. "pristina consuetudine" as "former mode of life" in Augustine, *Ep*. CCXI: "Quae infirmae sunt ex pristina consuetudine, si aliter tractantur in victu, non debet aliis molestum esse nec iniustum videri, quas fecit alia consuetudo fortiores"; "If those who are of weaker health from their former mode of life are treated differently with regard to food, this ought not to be vexatious or to seem unfair to others whom a different mode of life has made stronger" (*St. Augustine: Select Letters*, tr. James Houston Baxter [Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1930], 384, 385).

[326] I Cor 15.49: "Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni: et qualis cælestis, tales et cælestes. Igitur, sicut portavimus imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem cælesti."

[327] DEH 5. 6–7 (PG 3. 508B–D). In this summary, Colet omits Dionysius's injunctions that each office must maintain all three divine actions, despite a particular emphasis upon purification, illumination, or perfection.

Pontifex omnium sacrorum scius et divinarum rerum contemplator rite sub se disponit ecclesiam, ut quisque in ipso aliquid agat divine actionis ad dei et divinorum spirituum imitationem. Quia, ut docet Dionysius, omnis actio in ecclesia, cuiuscunque oportet imitetur divinam actionem. Nam, ut idem ait, Divinarum operationum imagines sunt sacerdotales functiones. Ad exemplar enim celestis hierarchie angelorum, qui assidue
k6v deum imitantur, a christo ecclesiastica | societas conditur in terris; et in christo a pontificali munere omnia disponuntur, qui pontifex personam dei et christi gerit in terris ut quisque in ecclesia in publicam utilitatem totius societatis in aliqua divina operatione pro virili suo se sedulo exerceat, ut ipse unum et sanum et perfectum in christi corpore mystico membrum esse agnoscatur. Unicuique inquit Paulus sicut deus divisit mensuram fidei. Divisiones graciarum sunt multe. Unicuique datur manifestatio spiritus ad utilitatem; scilicet ut ecclesia perficiatur spiritu tandem et immortalitate, in quam vocata totis viribus, servato ordine, distinctis officiis, sub pontifice, sub [angelo], sub deo contendat necesse est, si aliquando immortalis velit esse.

[V.2]

Pontifex autem dum consecratur prostratus ad altare dextram manum pontificis et evangelia supra caput habet. Invocatur trinitas in eum, insignitur cruce, nominatur a toto sacerdotio, deosculatur. Eadem fiunt veteri ritu in sacerdotem excepta impositione evangelii in caput. Eadem

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9 BL christi] SP christam] L Christi **10** BL, SP suo] L sua **16** pontifice, sub angelo] BL, SP gap of six spaces following "pontifice, sub"] L [angelis] **22** BL, SP sacerdotem] L sacerdote

Possessing knowledge of all the sacred, a contemplator of divine matters, the pontifex fittingly disposes the church under him, so that something of the divine action in him moves each to an imitation of God and divine spirits. Since, as Dionysius teaches, every action of each person in the church should imitate divine action. For, as the same indicates, sacerdotal offices are images of divine operations.[328] For the ecclesiastical society on earth is built by Christ according to the exemplar of the celestial hierarchy of angels, who imitate God assiduously; and all are arranged in Christ through the pontifical office, wherein the pontifex wears the mask of God and Christ on earth so that he may zealously employ everyone within the church in some divine work to the utmost of his ability for the public advantage of the whole society, so that he may be recognized as a member in Christ's mystical body, one, healthy, and perfect, "according as God hath divided to every one," as Paul says, "the measure of faith."[329] "There are diversities of graces but the same Spirit." "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man unto profit";[330] that is, that the church ultimately be perfected by the spirit and immortality, toward which, having been summoned, it must strive with all its powers, in an observed order, with distinct offices under the pontifex, under the angels, under God, if it wishes to be immortal at some time.

Chapter 5.2 On the Consecration of Clergy[331]

When a bishop is consecrated, prostrate at the altar, he has the right hand of a bishop and the gospels upon his head.[332] The trinity is invoked upon him; he is signed with the cross; he is named by the entire priesthood, kissed affectionately. In the old rite, the same applied to the priest, save for

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328 DEH 1. 1 (PG 3. 372B); 5.7 (PG 3. 508D–509A).

329 Rom 12:3: "unicuique sicut Deus divisit mensuram fidei."

330 1Cor 12:4–7: "Divisiones vero gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus: et divisiones ministrationum sunt, idem autem Dominus: et divisiones operationum sunt, idem vero Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Unicuique autem datur manifestatio Spiritus ad utilitatem."

331 BL omits heading, with no break in text. Colet's sketchy outline of the rites of ordination follows DEH 5. 2, which is also brief.

332 DEH 5. 2 (PG 3. 509A–C), which TEH (31^{v}) follows, states that the pontifex and priest to be ordained must kneel rather than be prostrate as in Colet's version, although in the opening of 5.3 Colet seems to conflate prostration with genuflection. In the early modern Roman rite, the bishop lay prostrate. Reference to the "old rite" ("veteri ritu") of priestly consecration seems to refer to the practice described in Dionysius's text.

denique ministro, sed is unico duntaxat genu flexo consecrationi se substernit. Solus pontifex evangelia gestit in capite. Omnes consecrati ad
k7r eucharistie communionem cientur. |

[V.3]

[U]t autem dicamus quidnam que videntur significant, ut simul spiritalis oculus cum corporeo sua obiecta cernat: primus ille accessus ad pontificem et ad altare prostratio subiectionem deo et pontifici suo loquitur et admonet. Genuflexio enim significatio est subiectionis et obedientie – quo verbo usus Paulus in epistola ad philippenses omnia Iesu subiecta esse affirmat dicens: Propter quod et deus exaltavit illum et dedit illi nomen quod est supra omne nomen ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur celestium terrestrium et infernorum. Itaque charissimi mei obedite. Hec subiectio in ecclesia est et debet esse cuiusque inferioris persone superiori in sanctificationem sui deo in christo, in quo eciam presidentia est superiorum in inferiorum sanctificationem, sub quocunque nomine president, eciam in plebeis patres domini mariti; ut docet Paulus in epistola ad Ephesios et in epistola ad Collocenses scripta, in quibus precipit

the placement of the gospel on the head. The same again for the minister, though he lowers himself for consecration by bending only one knee. Only the bishop bears the gospels upon his head. All of those consecrated are moved to participation[333] in the eucharist.

Chapter 5.3 Spiritual Contemplation of the Consecration of Clergy

That we may, moreover, tell what the things that are seen signify, that the spiritual eye, like a bodily one, may discern its objects: the first approach to the pontifex and prostration at the altar bespeaks and brings to mind submission to God and to his pontifex. For genuflection is a sign of subjection and obedience—a custom Paul affirms in his epistle to the Philippians by referring to that word [with reference to] all being subject to Jesus: "Wherefore God has exalted him and has given him a name that is above every name so that in the name of Jesus every heavenly, earthly, and infernal knee will be bent. Therefore, my beloved Christians," obey [him].[334] Within the church this subjection does exist and ought to exist for each person who is lower relative to one who is superior for the sanctification of oneself to God in Christ, wherein the governance[335] of the higher is for the sanctification of the lower, under whatever name they govern—as even fathers, lords, and husbands among the common people; so Paul teaches in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, wherein he enjoins sons, servants, and wives to subjection and obedience, which among [them] all

[333] Communionem.

[334] Phil 2:9–13: "Propter quod et Deus exaltavit illum, et donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen: ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur cælestium, terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris. Itaque carissimi mei (sicut semper obedistis), non ut in præsentia mei tantum, sed multo magis nunc in absentia mea, cum metu et tremore vestram salutem operamini. Deus est enim, qui operatur in vobis et velle, et perficere pro bona voluntate." The direction of this passage, toward affirmation of God's operation in Christians as cause of perfecting "good will," is central to Colet's idea of deification, which requires imitation of Christ through God's prior awakening the co-operating will in those to be perfected. Colet is concerned with liturgical action, but Dionysius also cites Phil. 2:9 in the opening chapter of DN as confirmation of the apophatic lack of significance of words in reference to God that exists in dialectic tension with cataphatic affirmation of God (Stang).

[335] presidentia>praesidentia (Latham). Colet importantly establishes ecclesiastical precedence on the principle of relative sanctification rather than other marks of distinction, such as administrative capacity, learning, or social position. Here as elsewhere, Colet's silence is meaningful, and the focus on differences in degree of sanctification rather than authority extends to subsequent exempla concerning family and marriage.

filiis servis et uxoribus subiectionem et obedientiam, quod intelligendum est in omnibus ut sanctificentur ab illis.

k7v Idcirco Paulus notanter | semper adhibet et inculcat In domino. Ad Ephesios est: Viri diligant uxores ut christus ecclesiam, et tradant se pro uxoribus, ut eas santificent lavachro gracie in verbo vite, ut exhibeant ipsi sibi gloriosas uxores, non habentes maculam neque rugam aut aliquid eiusmodi, sed sanctas et immaculatas.

Impositio autem illa manuum pontificis in caput pretendit illum consecratum deo quisquis sit totum comprehensum esse a deo, ut in eo sit et agat omnia illius eciam potestate se speret defensum et tutum esse. Manus enim est potestas dei in homine. Quod si deus nobiscum sit, quis contra nos? Defenditur autem contra spiritales nequitie in celestibus. Quia, ut scribit ad Ephesios apostolus, non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritalia nequitie in celestibus.

Insigniri autem crucis caractere predicat et protestatur crucem nos baiulare Iesu, ut illius discipuli simus. Nam ille dixit, qui non tollit crucem [suam] et sequatur me meus non potest esse discipulus. Tollere autem et accipere crucem revera est fide in morte christi vitam peccatricem omnino et in perpetuum deponere ac cum mortali christi carne sepelire,

13 apostolus] BL apostulus] SP, L apertius **17–18** L crucem [suam]] BL, SP gap of five spaces after "crucem" **20** L in perpetuum] BL im perpetuum] SP imperpetuum

is to be understood as their being sanctified by those [who are superior].[336] Accordingly Paul always uses and inserts [the phrase] "in the Lord." To the Ephesians it is: Men should love [their] wives as Christ the church, and they should devote themselves to wives so that they sanctify them in the font of grace by the word of life, so that they may show their wives to themselves as glorious, having no spot or wrinkle or anything of this sort but [being] holy and immaculate.[337]

The laying on of the hands of the pontifex upon the head suggests that the one consecrated to God, whoever he may be, has been totally embraced by God, so that [the one being consecrated] may be in and do all things in him, even hope that he is defended and kept safe through his power. For the hand represents God's power among men. Because if God is with us, who [can be] against us?[338] Moreover, he is defended from evil spirits in the heavens. Since, as [Paul] writes to the Ephesians, "the struggle for us is not against the flesh and blood but against princes and powers, against the rulers of their shadows in the world, against the spiritual evils in the heavens."[339]

Moreover, being marked by the sign of the cross proclaims and publicly testifies to our carrying the burden of the cross for Jesus, so that we may be his disciples. For he has said, "He who does not take up [his] cross and follow me cannot be my disciple."[340] Moreover, to take up and receive the cross is in reality, by faith in the death of Christ, to put off entirely and in perpetuity the sinful life, to bury it with Christ's mortal flesh and

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[336] Eph 6:1, Col 3:18.

[337] Colet paraphrases Eph 5:25–27: "Viri, diligite uxores vestras, sicut et Christus dilexit Ecclesiam, et seipsum tradidit pro ea, ut illam sanctificaret, mundans lavacro aquæ in verbo vitæ, ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam, aut rugam, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata."

[338] Rom 8:31: "si Deus pro nobis, qui contra nos?"

[339] Eph 6:11–12: "Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli: quoniam non est nobis colluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem, sed adversus principes, et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiæ, in cælestibus." Unlike Dionysius, who omits reference to spiritual enemies, alluding to "opposing powers" at DEH 5. 3. 3 (PG 3. 512A), Colet again provides a sense of angelic evil only vaguely suggested by the word "adversarias" in TEH (38^{r}).

[340] Lk 14:27: "qui non bajulat crucem suam, et venit post me, non potest meus esse discipulus." Colet follows DEH 5. 3–4 (PG 3. 512A) regarding the imposition of the hands and sign of the cross but adds related and confirming scriptural passages from Paul's epistles, especially ones that amplify Dionysius's idea of the sign of the cross as a figure of crucifixion in imitation of God (θεομίμητον).

k8r atque | deinde oculis in christum intentis constanter illius sanctissimam vitam imitari, ut configurati morti illius occurrant ad resurrectionem que est ex mortuis. Ad eundem modum quo de se scribit Paulus ad Philippenses, Unum inquit scio, que quidem retro sunt obliviscens, ad ea vero que sunt priora extendens. meipsum, ad destinatum persequor bravium superne vocationis dei in christo Iesu. Ad Galathas scribit idem: Qui sunt christi carnem suam crucifixerunt cum viciis et concupiscentiis. Id denotat crucis signaculum impressum in hominem profitentem christum, ut, quum caracter sancte crucis a pontifice acceperit, dicat cum Paulo, Christ[o] crucifixus sum cruci; vivo autem iam non ego; vivit vero in me christus – in quo certe est membrum homo ut capiti conformis sit, et surculus in arbore christi ut in omnibus radicem sapiat; ut non suo iam iudicio (quod crucifixum est) sed ex radice hausto vitali succo, qui christus est, in omnibus vivat, ut ita dicam, christianiter. Recordetur ergo graviter secum quisque quid velit impressio signi crucis – que est peccatricis persone in homine ipsa mors in sempiternum ut ea deinde nunquam reviviscat. Nam, ut docuit ille magister vite, accipienda est crux illius et
k8v sequen-|dus est ipse; id est, relinquenda est vita nostra propria et illius imitanda.

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5 SP, L persequor (following Phil 3:14, Vulgate)] BL prosequor **10** L Christo (following Gal 2:19, Vulgate)] BL, SP gap of three spaces after "Christ-" **14** SP christianiter ("a" is superscript)] BL christiniter] L Christianiter

thence with eyes constantly fixed on Christ to imitate his most holy life so that "being conformed to his death"[341] [the disciples] may hasten to attain the resurrection that is from the dead. In this way Paul writes to the Philippians of himself: "I know," he says, "one thing," "forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forth myself to those that are before, I press towards the mark, to the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus."[342] To the Galatians he writes similarly: "they that are Christ's, have crucified their flesh, together with the vices and concupiscences."[343] Impressed upon a man professing Christ, the sign of the cross denotes that [crucifixion]; so that, when he will have received from the pontifex the sign of the holy cross, he may say with Paul, "with Christ I am nailed to the cross. And I live, now not I; but Christ liveth in me."[344]—wherein surely man is a member that he may conform to the head, and a young shoot on a tree of Christ that in all its parts he may taste its root, with the result that he lives "Christianly" (as I say), not at all according to personal judgment (which has been crucified), but by drawing vital sap from the root, which is Christ.[345] Therefore let each one reflect solemnly within himself what the impress of the sign of the cross means—the sempiternal death of the sinful person in man such that thereafter it never revives. For as that master of life taught, his cross is to be taken up and he himself is to be followed; that is, our former life is to be left behind and his imitated.

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[341] Phil 3:9–11: "et inveniar in illo non habens meam justitiam, quæ ex lege est, sed illam, quæ ex fide est Christi Jesu: quæ ex Deo est justitia in fide, ad cognoscendum illum, et virtutem resurrectionis ejus, et societatem passionum illius: configuratus morti ejus: si quo modo occurram ad resurrectionem, quæ est ex mortuis."

[342] Phil 3:13–14: "Unum autem, quæ quidem retro sunt obliviscens, ad ea vero quæ sunt priora, extendens meipsum, ad destinatum persequor, ad bravium supernæ vocationis Dei in Christo Jesu."

[343] Gal 5:24: "Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis."

[344] Gal 2:19–20: "Christo confixus sum cruci. Vivo autem, jam non ego: vivit vero in me Christus."

[345] Rom 11:16–19: "si radix sancta, et rami. Quod si aliqui ex ramis fracti sunt, tu autem cum oleaster esses, insertus es in illis, et socius radicis, et pinguedinis olivæ factus es, noli gloriari adversus ramos. Quod si gloriaris: non tu radicem portas, sed radix te."

Nominatim deinde consecratus a pontifice denunciatur, quo certe indicatur divina electio et sors, cuius arbitratu et voluntate fiunt que recte fiunt in ecclesia omnia.

Sed hic nonnullus est locus ut de divina sortitione aliquid dicamus, si prius quid sors est dixerimus, quod nomen in scripturis multum usurpatum est. Sors quidem fortuitus alicuius rei eventus est, a quo fit verbum sortior, quod est, sortes facio, sive sortes recipio, seu per sortem aliquid decerno vel eligo. Qui aliquid eligunt per sortem sortilegi vocantur; item qui per sortes futura prenunciant. Capitur tamen aliquando sors pro fatali necessitate, aliquando pro indicio. Sors eciam pro patrimonio accipitur, unde consortes et consortia dicuntur. Apud christianos – certe illos quidem priscos viros et apostolos – magnum erat sortis sacramentum. Sortisque iactio apud homines certissiman apud deum indicavit electionem. Est quidem sors, apud homines expectantes omnia a deo credentesque

10 BL indicio] SP, L iudicio

Afterwards the pontifex calls by name the one being consecrated, by which surely is shown divine election and the lot, through whose judgment and will occur everything that occurs rightly in the church.[346]

But, if we have said [just] previously what the lot is, this is the place to say something about casting the divine lot, which term is used often in scripture.[347] The lot is a fortuitous outcome of some matter, from which comes the word *sortior*, that is, "I cast lots" or "I accept the lots" or "I discern or choose something by lot." Those who elect anything by lot are called *sortilegi* [prophetic], like those who declare the future by lots. Sometimes the lot is taken as fatal necessity, at other times as a sign. The lot is also taken to mean an inheritance, whence the terms *consortes* [those sharing an inheritance] and *consortia* [the sharing of property]. Certainly the lot was an important sacrament among the early Christians—those men and apostles—and the casting of the lot revealed to men God's most certain election.[348] Among men expecting all things to be from God and believing

[346] Here begins a summary of DEH 5. 3. 5 (PG 3. 512B–513A), with emphasis as in Dionysius on God's hand in clerical elections. In addition, Colet digresses on what he calls the "sacrament of nomination," returning eventually to the discussion of the hierarch's kiss of the ordinee (p. 281 below). Colet's repeated effort to return to the main effort is sidetracked by ongoing concern for issues such as investiture and ecclesiastical violations of clerical promotion, with church leaders chosen for reasons other than concern for God's providential hand. While Gleason is correct to note that Colet's concern for clerical election expressed in the Convocation Sermon as well as CEH was not as "revolutionary" as has been claimed (181–184), the strong conviction evident in the summary and digression make sense only if Colet is thought to read Dionysius against his historical and contemporary experience. Circa 1433, Nicholas of Cusa had similarly critiqued the curia's authority by refusing to assign the election of the pope and other members of the hierarchy to the cardinalate alone, noting also "the power of God is also involved, who authorizes and confirms [the cardinals'] action" (*The Catholic Concordance*, II. 117; tr. Paul E. Sigmund [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991], 92).

[347] Like Dionysius, Colet focuses on the election of Matthias mentioned in Acts 1:24–26, but he alludes to other scriptural instances of the lot, used in OT to distribute land and inheritances (e.g., Num 26:55, Joshua 7:14–21:10, 1 Chron 24:7, 25:9, 26:14); select David's successor as king (1 Sam 10:20); settle disputes (Prov 18:18); and express God's vindication (Isa 17:14).

[348] In describing the hierarch's naming of the one to be ordained at DEH 5. 3. 5 (PG 3. 512B–513A), as Lupton implies (CEH 121, n. 1), Dionysius does not specifically refer to the lot ("sors") although he cites God's command to Moses to consecrate Aaron (Ex 28:1–4, 29:4–9); Jesus's humility as consecrator of the apostles (Heb 5:6, Acts 1:4); and, most pertinent to the discussion of "sors," the apostolic election of Matthias as the replacement for Judas (Acts 1:24). Colet's interest in the lot as a kind of "sacrament" shows his willingness to extend the word "sacrament" beyond the boundaries of received medieval tradition as confirmed at the Council of Florence (1439–1445), a loosening that draws in this instance upon the word's potential associations with the Platonic participatory imagery in addition to the

cum eorum signis deum operari, argumentum et signum et quasi sacra-
lir mentum, in quo agnoscitur in quem incidit divina vo-|luntas et certissima electio.

Sortes ait Salomon mittuntur in sinum, sed a domino temperantur. Itaque sorte electus erat in apostolatum Mathias, ut scribit Lucas, multa oracione antecedente que spiritum sanctum invocaret, ut ex sortis sacramento divina voluntas in electione reverenter approbetur. Verba in actibus apostolorum hec sunt: Et statuerunt duos, Ioseph qui vocatur Barsabas, qui cognominatus est Iustus, et Mathiam. Et orantes dixerunt: Tu, domine, qui corda nosti omnium, ostende quem elegeris ex his duobus, unum accipere locum ministerii huius et apostolatus de quo prevaricatus est Iudas ut abiret in locum suum. Et cecidit sors super Mathiam, et annumeratus est cum undecim in apostolis.

Sors eciam habet suam significationem in scripturis nonnunquam pro fatali necessitate, pro indicio, et pro patrimonio, unde consortes nominantur et consortia. Quos enim divina predestinatio iudicat filios et heredes patrimonii sui, hi in sorte dei dicuntur et consortio cum christo. Omnia autem in ecclesia christi, cuius quasi anima est deus ipse, agi debent ab
liv ipso deo, hominibus interea credentibus et expectantibus. Quicquid, vel | qui vocetur in ecclesiam, vel in eadem ad aliquem gradum et dignitatis locum promoveatur, vel ab eodem promoto ex eius officio agitur – quicquid, inquam, agitur vel in constructione vel ordinatione vel completione ecclesie, si id divini spiritus instinctu non fiat, nihil est. Nisi dominus, ait David, edificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui edificant eam. Nisi dominus custodierit civitatem frustra vigilant qui custodiunt eam.

8 Ioseph] L adds Latinate suffix "-um" **10** BL elegeris] SP gap of three spaces, omitting "-ris"] L adds "[eris]" to "eleg" **15** BL indicio] SP, L iudicio **16** BL iudicat] SP, L indicat **18** L ipse] BL, SP ipsi

traditional language of infused grace and substance. This expanded sense derived from Dionysius, as Paul Rorem writes: although Dionysius uses τελετή alone to refer to baptism, the eucharist, and unction, he employs other terms to refer to other rites, including various ordinations and their related actions (*Biblical and Liturgical Symbols within the Pseudo-Dionysian Synthesis* [Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984], 39–46). Colet's softened boundaries of "sacrament" informs his discussion in SE of the sacraments inadequately addressed in DEH (see Introduction), especially confession, confirmation, and marriage; the first two incorporated into a broadened Dionysian conception of baptism and the eucharist, with marriage conflated with its spiritual counterpart discussed here, holy orders. In the present digression Colet's historical curiosity about "sors" in clerical election leads characteristically to an apostrophe lamenting the contemporary church's abandonment of supposed apostolic practices and admonitions against corruption associated with clerical election, including investiture, simony, and praemunire.

that God operates in cooperation with their signs, the lot is indeed the evidence and sign and sacrament (as it were) whereby one discerns upon whom the divine will and [its] most certain election has fallen.

Solomon writes "the lots are cast into the lap, but they are disposed of by the Lord."[349] Therefore, as Luke writes, Matthias was elected to the apostolate by lot so that, following much prayer intended to invoke the holy spirit, the divine will would be piously approved in election through the sacrament of the lot. These are the words in the Acts of the Apostles: "And they appointed two, Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And praying, they said: 'Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen, to take the place of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas hath by transgression fallen, that he might go to his own place.' And the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles."[350]

The lot has sometimes another meaning in the scriptures, such as fatal necessity, as a sign, and as the patrimony, whence come the names [for those sharing an inheritance as] *consortes*, and [the sharing as] *consortia*.[351] For those whom divine predestination judges to be sons and inheritors of the patrimony are said to be "in a share of God" and "co-partners with Christ."[352] Moreover, everything in Christ's church, whose soul, as it were, is God himself, must be done by God himself, with men believing and awaiting in the interim. Whatever is done by one called to the church, advanced in the same to some level or place of dignity, or done as a function of one's office after having been—whatever (I say) is done either in constructing, ordering, or completing the church is nothing if not done as a result of the divine inspiration of the spirit. As David says, "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it."[353]

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[349] Prov 16:33: "Sortes mittuntur in sinum, sed a Domino temperantur."

[350] Acts 1:23–26: "Et statuerunt duos, Joseph, qui vocabatur Barsabas, qui cognominatus est Justus, et Mathiam. Et orantes dixerunt: Tu Domine, qui corda nosti omnium, ostende quem elegeris ex his duobus unum, accipere locum ministerii hujus, et apostolatus, de quo prævaricatus est Judas ut abiret in locum suum. Et dederunt sortes eis, et cecidit sors super Mathiam, et annumeratus est cum undecim Apostolis."

[351] For examples of each sense, see for the lot as necessity Prov 16:33; as sign, Lev 16:8–10; and as patrimony, Num 34:13, Josh 14:2.

[352] Colet paraphrases Rom 8:17: "Si autem filii, et hæredes: hæredes, quidem Dei, cohæredes autem Christi."

[353] Ps 127.1: "Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui ædificant eam. Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam."

In opere suo, que est ecclesia, equum est ut ille temperet omnia. Quod si humanum se temere immisceat ingenium, disturbari et confundi omnia necesse est. In hominibus nihil est aliud quod requiratur nisi oracio instans et peticio, fides indubia, spes firmissima, que, ut Paulus ait, non confundit. Quia vero latentes sunt actiones et operationes dei, non sine divino precepto credendum est apostolos et apostolicos viros in prima ecclesia sortibus nonnunquam fuisse usos, ut per illas de dei iudicio doceantur, quem ad aliquod munus et officium ex dei voluntate nominent, credentes plane illic esse voluntatem dei ubi sors cecidit. Quem statim, in quem
l2r obtigit sors, omnes quasi u-|no ore dei connominent, credentes indubitanter qui nominatus est in terris eundem a deo nominatum esse in celis. Soluta enim et ligata in terris, Salvatoris testimonio, solvuntur et ligantur in celis, quoniam congregatis in illo ille medius est.

Id est quod Dionysius ait: nominationis sacramentum significare delectum et approbationem dei in celis. Quam nominationem cuiusvis vel in membrum vel in ministerium aliquod in Christo Iesu in ecclesia illius fieri sane nephas est, nisi id fiat quidem a summis et sanctissimis viris et locis quoque augustissimis et preterea cum longissimis et religiosissimis ieiuniis votis sacrificiis et precibus, ut non ab homunculis sed a magno deo factum esse videatur. Quocirca hic licet execrari illum detestabilem

4 BL, SP ut Paulus ait] L ut ait Paulus **9** BL, SP Quem] L Quae **10** SP, L connominent] BL comnominent

In his creation, the church, it is fair that he should regulate all things. But if human cunning should mix rashly with it, by necessity everything would be ruined and thrown into disorder. Among men nothing is required other than urgent prayer and petition, undoubting faith, firmest hope, which (as Paul indicates) "confoundeth not."[354] But since God's actions and operations are concealed, one must never think the apostles or apostolic men of the early church occasionally used lots without divine precept, with the intention that by those [lots], they, believing totally that God's will coincided with wherever the lot fell, would learn about the judgment of God what person they should name through the will of God to some duty and office. As it were with God's single voice, all, believing without doubt that he who has been named on earth is named likewise by God in the heavens, ought to co-nominate instantly him on whom the lot has fallen. For, according to the testimony of the Savior—seeing that he is the center of those gathered in him—those things loosed and bound on earth are to be loosed and bound in the heavens.[355]

That is what Dionysius indicates: the sacrament of nomination signifying God's heavenly choice and approval.[356] So it may be perceived as an act not of weak men but of a great God, any nomination whatsoever to be a member in Christ Jesus or to hold some office in his church is an abomination unless it derives from the highest and holiest men and also the holiest places and, beyond that, follows upon the longest and most religious fasting, vows, sacrifices, and prayers. Accordingly one must abhor that detestable practice that has grown for a long time in the

[354] Rom 5:3–5: "Non solum autem, sed et gloriamur in tribulationibus: scientes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur: patientia autem probationem, probatio vero spem, spes autem non confundit: quia caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis."

[355] Matt 18–20: "Amen dico vobis, quæcumque alligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in cælo: et quæcumque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in cælo. Iterum dico vobis, quia si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram, de omni re quamcumque petierint, fiet illis a Patre meo, qui in cælis est. Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum." For the figure of Christ as the center of a circle, see also CCC 12. 250, 326–327, n. 11.

[356] TEH 5. 3 (38^{r}), translating DEH 5. 3. 5 (PG 3. 513A): "Porro de sorte illa diuina que mathie diuinitus obtigit, alii quidem alia sensere: meo iudicio non recte aperiam autem et ipse quid sentiam. Uidetur mihi scriptura sortem appellasse diui quoddam et principui muneris: per quod illi choro sacratissimo insinuaretur qui esset diuina electione declaratus, oportet enim pontifices sanctum non motu proprio sacerdotales ordinationes conficere: sed sub deo agente has pontificaliter celestique celebrare mundicia." Note again that Colet adds language identifying the divine nomination as a "sacrament."

mo[rem], qui iam diu inolevit in ecclesia et nunc prope in interitum reipublice christiane inveteratus est, quo temporales principes insani quidem et sub christiano nomine hostes et inimici dei blasphemi christi eversores ecclesie non humilibus et piis animis sed superbis et temerariis non sacris
l2v et castis locis sed in cubiculis et conviviis episcopos, qui | Christi ecclesiam gubernent, nomi[nan]t, et eos quoque (O nephandum scelus!) homines, omnis sacre rei ignaros, omnis prophane scios, quibus iam ante flagitiose eosdem episcopatus vendicarunt. O seculum nequam. O perditi mores. O principium insania. O ecclesiasticorum hominum cecitas et stultitia, deridendane an deflenda magis ignoro. Pervertitur ordo, caro tumet, spiritus extinguitur, deforma et feda extant omnia. Nisi christus misereatur ecclesie sue, mors que iam prope instat occupabit omnia.

1 L mo[rem]] BL, SP gap of four spaces following "mo-" **6** L nomi[nan]t] BL, SP erasure of characters in "nomin__t" **7** L ante] BL, SP antea **9–10** L stultitia deridendane] BL, SP stulticia deridenda ne **11** SP, L misereatur] BL miseriatur

church and is now firmly rooted here, nearly to the death of the Christian republic,[357] wherein temporal princes under the Christian name, assuredly insane, public enemies and adversaries of God, blasphemers of Christ, destroyers of the church, not with humble and pious but proud and thoughtless souls, not in sacred and chaste places but in bedrooms and banquets, appoint bishops to govern Christ's church—and those men [i.e., the appointees] ignorant as well of every sacred matter, knowledgeable only of profanity, to whom they [the princes] have just before shamefully sold the episcopate (O unspeakable criminal deed!). O worthless age! O wretched customs! O madness of our leaders! O the blindness and folly of the human church—I know not whether [it is] to be more laughed at or wept for.[358] Order has been turned upside down, the flesh is puffed up, the spirit extinguished, everything seems deformed and repulsive. Unless Christ has mercy on his church, death, which comes ever nearer, will destroy everything.[359]

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[357] Colet's Christian republic draws on the ideal societies of Plato, Cicero, and Augustine, and it appears repeatedly in Colet's discussions of the mystical body: see his *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystiuci, quae est ecclesia* (in *Opuscula quaedam theologica* 189 ff.) and CCC 12. 232–242. The present instance sets the ideal against what seems to him the diminished reality of the early Tudor church.

[358] Elsewhere, Colet attributes the expression to Heraclitus (CCC 12.238); Lupton (124, n. 1) notes the similar language; Gleason cites it as a commonplace (339).

[359] A specific circumstance, if any, prompting this attack on what Colet describes as the long-standing vice of praemunire is unknown, as Lupton observed while referring to the papal practice of sale of benefices, citing similar language in Pico (123n1). During his residence at the English Hospice in Rome in 1492, Colet would have become acquainted with ambitious English clergy like Christopher Bainbridge (c. 1464–1514), who subsequently attained high position in the church, in contrast to others, like Colet's friend William Grocyn (1446?-1519), who traveled to Italy to study at the close of the fifteenth century but thereafter remained a lecturer at Exeter College, Oxford. Around 1500, Grocyn is to have lectured on Dionysius. Likely known to Colet through the English Hospice, Bainbridge went on to become Archbishop of York (1508), Henry VIII's resident ambassador in Rome (1509), and the first English cardinal in two centuries (1511), a rise aided at numerous points by the support of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Perhaps even more controversial within the English church were the appointments of Italians to English sees discussed in the Introduction, including Giovanni and Silvestro Gigli, cousins who succeeded Robert Morton as Bishop of Worcester with the permission of Henry VII. See D.S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome, 1509–1514* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965); William E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protector of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974); J.B. Trapp, "Erasmus on William Grocyn and Ps-Dionysius: A Re-examination," *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, 59 (1996), 294–303. Although Harper-Bil argued that little evidence exists of episcopal malpractice to support Colet's charges of praemunire in the Convocation Sermon, like those made here, examples such as Bainbridge and the Giglis nuance the home-bred examples Harper-Bil cites,

Nam quo pacto durabit quod tractatur pestifero consilio et veneficis manibus? Bonus Iesus, nihil sibi ascribens, humiliter omnia retulit ad patrem. Si ego glorifico me, inquit apud Ioannem, gloria mea nihil est. Est pater meus qui glorificat me, de quo non ipse sed pater dixit, Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. At isti principes nequitie – nomine christiani re vero ipsa ministri diaboli – arroganter ascribentes sibi que dei sunt opus, quod sanguis christi construxit, et templum dei nepharia libidine demoliuntur, quibus dabit deus aliquando secundum opera eorum.

Sed nos ad id de quo loquebamur redeamus.

l3r Sacra illa nomina – ut diximus, | sacramentum est nominationis in celis. Nomine sacramenti non solum dicuntur illa septem notissima in ecclesia, sed preterea quicquid sensibili signo et notis spectabilibus remotius significatur sacramentum vocatur. In sorte Mathie magnum notat sacramentum Dionysius, quum in ea dicit indicium fuisse apostolis in quem latens divina electio incidit. Ita in connominationis sacramento patefacta est, ut creditur sine dubio, si ab idoneis viris fit nominatio, illa divina in

1 BL, SP tractatur] L tractatus **11** BL, SP nomina] L omnia

including John Fisher (Rochester), William Nix (Norwich), and Richard Fox (Winchester) ("Dean Colet's Convocation Sermon"). Colet's conflicts with the Bishop of London, Richard Fitzjames (Gleason 235–260), and, late in life, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham (Gleason 248), no doubt contributed to critiques of high ecclesiastical ranks.

For by what covenant may it endure when managed with pestilential counsel and poisonous hands? Good Jesus, ascribing nothing to himself, humbly referred all to the father. "If I glorify myself," he says according to John, "my glory is nothing. It is my Father that glorifieth me"; of whom not himself but his father said, "Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech."[360] But here princes of badness—Christians in name, in fact ministers of the devil—arrogantly impute to themselves things that are God's; the work and temple of God that Christ's blood built up the impious lustfully destroy, whom at some time God will pay according to their labor.

But let's return to that of which we speak.

Those sacred names—as I have said the sacrament of nomination exists in the heavens. By the name of sacrament are known not only the seven most-noted in the church, but in addition whatever is more distantly represented by a perceptible sign and visible marks is called a sacrament.[361] In the lot of Matthias Dionysius identifies a great sacrament, in which [lot] he says that the apostles had an indication of the person on whom the hidden choice of God fell. So in the sacrament of co-nomination that divine [nomination] in the heavens has been disclosed, as must be believed without doubt so long as it may be for suitable men. And by that

[360] Ps 109:4: "Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech." On this verse and Melchizedech as a type for Christ as priest, see Hebrews 5:6 and 7:1–8:6, cited in DEH 5. 3. 5. (PG 3. 512C). William R. Crockett, *Eucharist: Symbol of Transformation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990), observes that early on Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, and Ambrose had identified Mechizedech as a type of Christ as priest in sacrificing with bread and wine (75–78). In SE 1, Colet cites the same verse from Ps 109 when describing Jesus as the "first and exemplary priest" ("sacerdos … primus et exemplaris" [Gleason 272]).

[361] Colet again uses a broad sense of "sacrament" drawn from Dionysius's, a usage whose flexibility was atypical if not heterodox. In SE, Christ as high priest is declared the true sacrament, "making all things sacraments that reflect him, the sacrament of sacraments" ("omniaque sacramenta faciens que omnia ipsum referant sacramentorum sacrament[um"], 1.274). SE goes on to describe the first sacrament in the created world as the formation by the Priest and Order of a "heavenly priesthood," an angelic priesthood dedicated to "serve as holy soldiers in holy and ordered fashion" in the conflict against the devil and his inverse hierarchy. For Colet, spiritual imitation of the divine principle is a "sacrament," though some sacraments are more spiritual, more filled with grace due to their closer proximity to and nearer imitation of Christ. Colet's avoidance of the scholastics' ever-firming distinctions (beginning with Lombard and Aquinas and extending through the Council of Lyons [1274] to the Council of Florence [1439]) between "sacramentals" and "sacraments" seems deliberate (see Leclerq, "Sacramentals" *Cath. Encyc.* and Paul Halsall, "The Seven Sacraments: Catholic Doctrinal Documents," 1998, from the *Internet Medieval Source Book*).

celis. A quo quem ille vult is in ecclesia nominatur. A quo qui non est nominatus, is credat se non esse quem se profitetur, quod velim audiant episcopi qui tales a temporalibus regibus nominantur.

In cons[aluta]tione vero et coosculo eius qui nominatur similitudo amor et gaudium innuitur quod est omnibus in assimulato et ei quoque cum illis quibus assimulatur.

Sed quid velit illa sacro sanctorum evangeliorum impositio capiti pontificis consecrati? Nempe ut pontifex ille omnia sacra et divina in suo capite et p[erfectione] contineat, sitque omnium in divinis rebus longe sapientissimus et omni virtute ac sancta actione longe optimus ad exem-
l3v plum illius christi, qui in evangeliis | predicatur – quem quodammodo innuit, quum sacerrima illa evangelia in capite accipit – ut, quoad possit, ipsum in se christum preseferat vita sanctimonia et bonitate et illius veritatis ac religionis sapientia.

Minister vero uno genu flexus purgatorum sacramentum habet; sacerdos duobus flexis purgatorum et illuminatorum; pontifex preter duorum genuum flexus in capite sacra evangelia habet in sacramentum et purgationis et illuminationis et perfectionis, quod is evangelica mysteria ostendit rite, ut eis impleti homines pro capacitate perficiantur.

Ita tota ecclesiastica institutio purgatione, illuminatione, et perfectione in christo molitur hominum constantem simplicitatem et sapientem ordinem et perfectam bonitatem, ad clarum illud exemplar

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4 L cons[aluta]tione] BL, SP gap of four spaces in cons___tione **9** perfectione] BL, SP gap of ten spaces after "et p-"] L p[ectore] **10** BL, L omni] SP omne **20** BL, L illuminatione] SP illuminationis

[sacrament], the one whom God wants is nominated. Should one not be nominated by [that sacrament], one cannot believe himself to be what he professes, something I wish bishops,[362] such as are being nominated by secular rulers, would hear.

The true mutual salutation and kiss of the one to be nominated intimates similitude, love, and the joy that exists among all in the one who has been assimilated, and in him also, along with those to whom he is being assimilated.[363]

But what does that imposition of the sacrosanct gospels on the head of the pontifex to be consecrated mean? Certainly that pontifex should hold in his head and perfection[364] everything holy and divine and he should be by far the wisest of all in divine subjects and by far best in every virtue and holy action according to the example of Christ, who is proclaimed in the gospels—which in a way [the pontifex] intimates when he receives on his head the most sacred gospels—so that he may represent to the degree that he is able Christ himself in his life through sanctity and goodness and through the wisdom of his truth and religion.

In bending a single knee, the deacon keeps the sacrament of the purified; in bending two, the priest [that] of the purified and illumined; the bishop holds the holy gospels on his head in addition to bending both knees in a sacrament of purification, illumination and perfection, since he reveals the evangelic mysteries with due observance, so that filled with them men may be perfected according to their capacity.[365]

So through purification, illumination, and perfection in Christ the entire ecclesiastical institution strives after man's unchanging simplicity and wise order and perfect goodness, according to that shining exemplar

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[362] Episcopi, referring to contemporary ecclesiastical leaders.

[363] In contrast to the lengthy digression Colet introduced above when discussing the divine "nomination" of one being ordained is the abbreviated summary accorded the significance of the "kiss" given by all in attendance, including the hierarch, called by Dionysius ἀσπασμός (Luibheid tr. "kiss," 242), a symbol of "sacred communion" among the "like minds" of the hierarchic participants (5.3.6, [PG 3. 513B]). Colet's focus suggests his particular interest in the condition of the ecclesia of his era. Colet's "coosculo" preserves reference to the kiss that TEH, unlike DEH 509C and 513B, foregoes by referring to "salutatio" (38^{r}) alone. L's "cons[aluta]tione" echoes previous combinations of "salutatio" and "osculatio" at BL G7^{v} and H4^{v}.

[364] Lupton inserts "–ectore" after "p-" to fill blank in MS, but "p-erfectione" better fills the space.

[365] See DEH 5. 3. 7 (PG 3. 513C–D), which links the hierarch with perfection and complete conformity to God; Colet inserts references to the pontifex as the consummate imitator of Christ. On the significance of the bending of knees, Colet follows DEH 5. 3. 8.

angelorum, ut supra cahos confusionis et mundi aliquorum hominum in deo simplicium et perfectorum luculentus ordo extet, que sit civitas in monte posita, que sit lux mundi et sal terre, que fide spe et charitate sub sole christo resplendens illuminet et vivificet mundum. Sed – prohdolor – fumus et caligo tetra ex valle hominum tenebrosorum tanta iam dudum
l4r et tam spissa spiravit sursum, ut civitatis | lumen fere obruit, ut nunc ecclesiastici homines involuti tenebris, ignorantes quo vadant, stulti commiscuerunt et confuderunt se cum omni [malo] ut nunc rursus in mundo nihil sit quam hominum turba confusius. In quo mundo, quod impressit sigillum christi, turbulenta collisione hominum in tanta rerum confusione oblitteratum est prope et deletum. Misericors Iesus pro tua omnipotentia te precor cito discussis tenebris in tua ecclesia restitue ordinem et serenitatem.

[VI.1]

[U]ti sunt a deo instituti qui purgent illuminent et perficiant, que sunt cause agentes et quasi iam viri masculina virtute, ita contra ex opposito oportet sint, qui purgentur, et qui illuminentur, et qui perficiantur, que sint quasi materies ecclesie et virili parti quasi substernenda femina: ut in viro perficiatur. In hac parte sunt obstetricandi cathecumini, apostate

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1 BL supra] SP, L super **6** BL: gap of about eight spaces at foot of l3v, following "civitatis" **8** BL, SP confuderunt] L confunderunt **8** malo] BL, SP gap of seven spaces after "omni"] L bracketed question mark **17** que] BL, SP gap of one space following "qu-"] L qui **18** BL, SP parti] L parte

of the angels, so that above the chaos of confusion and the world there should emerge a luminous order composed of some simple and perfect men in God, which [order] should constitute a city set on a mountain, which should be the light of the world and salt of the earth,[366] which, resplendent in faith, hope, and charity under Christ the sun, should illumine and enliven the world. But—O sorrow!—so much smoke and hideous fog has now blown upwards to such a degree from the dark and shadowy valley of men that it has nearly overwhelmed the city's light, with the result that now ecclesiastical men, wrapped in darkness, ignorant where they rush, mingle with fools and join together with every [evil], with the result that now again nothing exists in the world more confused than the tumult of men. In which world, the seal of Christ, which he has pressed, is almost obliterated and annihilated by the turbulent clash of men in so great a confusion of things.

I beg you merciful Jesus for your omnipotence. I call upon you, after quickly dispersing the darkness, restore order and peace in your church.

Chapter 6.1 On the Ranks of Regular Clergy and Laity

Just as there are those instructed by God to purify, illumine, and perfect, who are causal agents and, as it were, in this instance men with masculine virtue, so on the opposite side there ought to be those who are to be purified, illumined, and perfected, who should be as it were the matter of the church and the feminine part, as it were, to be subordinate to the masculine so it might be perfected in the male.[367] In that [feminine] part

[366] Matt 5:13–15: "Vos estis sal terræ. Quod si sal evanuerit, in quo salietur? ad nihilum valet ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras, et conculcetur ab hominibus. Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita, neque accedunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt."

[367] The gendering evident in Colet's sexualized discourse of spiritual masculinity and femininity—not evident in DEH 6.1—subordinates the latter to the former as hierarchic principles that, as becomes evident below, would obviate the need for the corporeal sexuality that Colet believes the fall introduced. Gleason and others have read this statement as a sign of Colet's "dualized conception of a universe polarized between spirit and flesh" that left Colet "unable to find any good thing in the things of this world" (187). Although some passages may suggest this extreme position, Colet, as also below, balances spirituality and secularity in the created world, so that the beauty of one is compensated by the utility of the other in a reciprocal equality. Concerning spiritual sexuality, which in Colet's terms should be the ideal that corporeal sexuality shadows, Colet advances a more nuanced position than is generally allowed. As divine exemplar, Christ is ineffably, like

revocandi, energumini exorcizandi, penitentes detergendi. In his officiis
l4v sunt ministri, quorum officium purgare est et parere quoad | possint simplicem unitatem in hominibus, ut delabentes et defluentes et iactati se sistant in deo in puncto spei, ut sperantes in deo iam radicentur.

Ut autem sunt varii qui purgentur, ita varii ministri sunt. Cathecuminis contendentibus exire mundum manum porrigunt et assidua instructione

4 L sistant] BL, SP sistent

the Father, both father and mother of the created universe, androgynously representing marriage and perfecting feminine creation through his masculinity (Gleason, App. 1, SE 4. 296); see SE 4. 302, following citation on the creation of humanity in God's image (Gen 1:26–27): "Hic est Iesus masculinus deo et femininus humanitate per quam attraxit sibi reliquos homines in completionem coniugis sue, vt incrementum et multiplicacio sit et repletio et subiectio terre per iusticiam." Hence, Jesus is a virago, both masculine and feminine, as Colet states the church should also be (SE 4. 296) by receiving grace and cooperating with others for the propagation of justice and increase of the faith. See CCC 11. 222: "Quamquam Christo capiti nostro et Deo omnes in ecclesia sunt quasi femine et quasi corpus, omnesque sub<i>iciuntur—immo etiam ipse Iesus Christus quatenus homo est, Deo—et omnes etiam velantur, non velamine aliquo, obedientie et subiectionis signo, sed ipsa obedientia, velaminis veritate, quod mentis verum velamen est." In commenting on 1 Cor 11:7, Colet oberves that, though enjoined to remain silent in "men's church," in a "church of women" women may prophesy, since "sancte moniales omnes viragines" (CCC 11. 224). In SE, Colet notes the absence of reference to matrimony in DEH: "I take it that the reason Dionysius says nothing about matrimony in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is that its sacrament preceded [it]. Hence the true wedding is that between God and the church …" ("Ideo puto dionysium in ecclesiastica hierarchia de matrimonio tacuisse cuius sacramentum antecessit. Hinc inter deum et ecclesiam vere sunt nuptie …"), following Gleason's translation save for "antecessit," which is there rendered as "already come and gone" (303, 302), implying an absolute rupture with sacred matrimony after Christ. The text does not state that matrimony is no longer a sacrament, as Gleason suggests (192): marriage remains a figure participant in the divine flow of grace, though one surpassed by the spiritual marriage of Christ and his church and practiced to the fullest by those who, like Paul, remain celibate (CCC 7. 192; SE 5. 314).

cathecumens are to be assisted as though in childbirth,[368] apostates to be recalled, energumens to be exorcized, and penitents to be cleansed. In these offices are ministers whose duty it is, insofar as possible, to purify and to produce in men a simple unity; with the intention that those who are falling down, flowing down, and being thrown about may right themselves in God at the point of hope, that, hoping in God, they may at last take root.

Just as those who would be purified differ, so ministers are varied.[369] Catechizing ministers extend a hand to catechumens striving to leave the

[368] Colet borrows the figure of catechetical parturition from DEH 3. 3. 6 (PG 3. 432D–433A); see also the discussion of infant baptism in CEH 7. 4 and 3. 3 on the four types of impure Christians. In contrast to Colet, Dionysius places catechumens at the lowest level of those being initiated in that they are uninitiated and have never participated in hierarchic rites. Above them Dionysius places the energumens or possessed, since, though "now held fast by opposing charms or by confusion," they have been initiated and have participated in some rites (3. 3. 7; PG 3. 433B–C). In the same place Dionysius also includes a group of penitents (436A) and another rather ambiguous list of the sequence of those initiates removed prior to the sacrifice of the eucharist, including (again) the catechumens, apparently the penitent, then the possessed, followed by those who have left behind the "opposing life" but remain impure or "empty of imaginings" and those not yet altogether "one-like" but still blemished and stained. Those permitted to observe and participate in the sacraments, therefore, are those who are perfectly purified. Colet's ordering places the catechumens at the top, followed by those being recalled as apostates (presumably those who have erred in doctrine), those who are possessed (for Colet, presumably by devils, not just demons or fantasies), and pentitents who remain impure.

[369] Following leads in Traversarius, Colet creates two human groups below the clergy, which he outlines as consisting of monks, the laity, and the penitent, above a third rank of those excluded from the church during the sacramental rites: catechumens, apostates, penitents, and energumens or the "possessed" (CEH 6. 125, 128, 141). Though not entirely consistent, Dionysius's ecclesiastical order differs significantly in that, with the sacraments of baptism, the eucharist, and the muron as the highest ecclesiastical triad and the hierarchs, priests, and deacons in the second, the third sometimes is presented as a triad of "initiates"–sometimes including monks, the "sacred people," and the "initiates" properly so-called (including catechumens, the penitents, the energumens or "possessed" and others), as at DEH 6. 1. 1 (PG 3. 532A–B), 3. 1. 7 (PG 3. 436B) and 3. 3. 3 (PG 3. 477A); see also DEH 6. 3 [PG 3.536D–537A]. Rorem's annotation to Luibheid's translation notes that in two places Dionysius formulates a lay triad of cathecumens, the possessed, and the repentant (DEH 3. 2 [PG 3. 425C], and 3. 3. 5, [PG 3. 432C–433C]); see also Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993), 93, 111–112. Colet divides Dionysius's third triad into two. Below the three clerical orders, then, Colet places the triad monks-holy people-pentitents (already undergoing purification) and a third group whose four-fold descending ranks (catechumens, apostates, penitents being recalled, and the possessed) seem intended to signify the growing disorder of those outside the limit of full sacramental participation. Colet identifies four

ad deum trahunt cathecizantes ministri. Adversarius incessanter oppugnat ecclesiam: ut quod per ministros construit deus demoliatur. Itaque quosdam evertit et diruit apostatas, quosdam quassat et vexat energuminos. Contra solliciti labore et diligentia oportet sint ministri dei, ut damnum illatum ab hoste reficiant, restaurentque ecclesiam omnibus viribus, tum a civitate diaboli avocantes, tum qui a civitate dei deciderunt revocantes, tum si qui sunt moti firmantes. Itaque contra eorum apostatas sunt ecclesie cathecumini, contra illorum energuminos – quos turbant ut cadant – sunt ecclesie penitentes, quos expurgant ministri ut sistant. Verum quod suum est indesinente labore studet ecclesia servare et quod modo erat suum: recuperare – dico apostatas et energuminos – , sicut contra quod suum est et erat nititur retinere adversarius cathecuminos
l5r videlicet et penitentes. Ita mutu-|is excursionibus et crebris conflictibus cum damnis vicicitudinariis dimicant duo isti exercitus dei et diaboli: Spiritus contra spiritus, et spiritales homines contra carnales. Maligni spiritus diligunt carnem, boni spiritum concupiscunt. Caro, inquit Paulus, adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem. Sed quia Salvatoris testimonio spiritus promptus est caro autem infirma, ideo aliquando spiritus vincet carnem et lux tenebras et vita mortem et deus diabolum per dominum nostrum Iesum christum, cui subiiciet omnia, ut deus sit omnia in omnibus.

3 L, SP apostatas] BL apostotas **7** L apostatas] BL apostitas] SP apostitus **12** nititur] L silently inserts "contra" **14** BL vicicitudinariis dimicant duo] SP, L vicitudinariis dimicant dominio **18** BL vincet] SP, L vincit **20** BL, SP subiiciet] L subjicie[ntur]

ranks of initiates also named in Traversarius's version, but unlike Traversarius's scholium, Colet places the energumens in the lowest position and introduces a gendered contrast and tension between the relatively more "masculine" catechumens / penitents and the more "feminine" apostates / energumens. See TEH, 39^{v}, scholium Q for the suggestion of these two pairs of initiates: "Dicimus igitur eos qui purgantur ordines turbas esse a sacris actionibus et consummationibus segregatas. Et he turbe sunt cathecumini, apostate, energumini, penitents. Et in sequentibus: alius, alter, alius, alius: intelligitur alius cathecuminae, alter apostata, alius energuminus, alius penitens." See also the accompanying diagram, with "Educiendi," one of three "Purgandi ordines," along with the "Monachi" and "Plebs sancta" including the four orders of initiates Colet names.

world, and through ongoing instruction draw them to God. To demolish what God builds through ministers, the adversary unceasingly attacks the church. Hence, he subverts and overthrows some—the apostates—and he violently shakes and jostles others—the energumens. On the other side should be God's ministers, anxiously provoked to labor and care so they may repair the damage introduced by the enemy and restore the church to its full strength, first by calling them away from the city of the devil, then by recalling those who have fallen away from the city of God, finally by making those so moved stable. Therefore set against the apostates are the church's catechumens; against the energumens, whom [devils] trouble in order that they may fall, are the church's penitents, whom ministers cleanse so they may stand up. But with unstinting effort the church eagerly strives to keep what is rightly its own and to recover what was recently its own—I speak of the apostates and energumens—just as on the opposite side the enemy makes an effort to retain what is and was its own; that is, the catechumens and penitents. So with mutual assaults and numerous clashes the two armies of God and the devil struggle by exchanging blows: spirit against spirit, and spiritual against carnal men. Evil spirits desire the flesh, the good eagerly lust after the spirit. "The flesh," Paul observes, "lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh."[370] But since, by the testimony of the Savior, "the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak,"[371] at some time the spirit will overcome the flesh, and the light the darkness, and life death, and God the devil, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom [God] will subject all things that God may be all in all.[372]

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[370] Gal 5:16–18: "Dico autem: Spiritu ambulate, et desideria carnis non perficietis. Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem: hæc enim sibi invicem adversantur, ut non quæcumque vultis, illa faciatis. Quod si Spiritu ducimini, non estis sub lege."

[371] Mk 14:38: "Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro vero infirma." Metaphors of the oppositions of spirit and flesh and Christian warfare are absent in DEH 6. 1 but perhaps suggested by the preceding reference to the *civitas dei* and Augustine's idea of a church militant (*De civitatis dei*, 15. 4) together with Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis christiani*.

[372] 1 Cor 15:27–28: "Omnia subjecta sunt ei, sine dubio præter eum qui subjecit ei omnia. Cum autem subjecta fuerint illi omnia: tunc et ipse Filius subjectus erit ei, qui subjecit sibi omnia, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus." Colet's adaptation of Paul's words in discussing the Spirit as agent of subjection is consistent with the emphasis on the agency of the Spirit in the commentary on 1 Corinthians (CCC 12. 230–238, 252–254).

Ecclesia dei, que supra mundum in monte dei sita est in liquido aere et spiritu luculento, suppeditatam sibi et sue felicitati materiem habet ex valle miserie huius mundi; que, inferiori sua parte virili et activa, superiorem et magis passivam mundi partem, non aliter ferme atque solis radii summas aque partes suo calore eas extenuans et rarifaciens attollit in altum, ut ex ea primum construat sibi quasi corpus. Quod ipsum quanquam spiritaliori parte ecclesie crassius est et corpulentius, tamen est toto mundano corpore spiritalius. Ex quo corpore deinde et crassiore ecclesie
l5v parte, sano et integro, | ex eius videlicet summa et sereniore regione, et talibus, qui iam prope evaserint spiritale, qui sunt corporis ecclesie quasi purior serenior et vitalior sanguis, et talibus hominibus in passiva parte ecclesie qui maturiores sunt, trahuntur in racionem spiritalem, ut iam active sint partes et spiritus sint, sed primum purgatorii quorum munus et officium totum versetur in purgatione et recreatione et nutritione corporis que est humilior et crassior ecclesie [pars]. Inter quam quidem et deum, ecclesie animam, sunt spiritales homines operatores et effectores omnium.

Ut in homine inter eius animam et corpus medii sunt spiritus puri subtiles lucidi calidi ab ipso cordis calore et subtiliore sanguine procreati, ita similiter inter deum et ecclesiam convocatorum hominum sunt ex ipsis convocatis hominibus ex sinceriore eius parte et quasi deificatiori, sanguine a calore dei – id est amore – procreati spiritales homines, qui sint medii inter deum et reliquos homines, qui per eos a deo dependent. Atque

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2 felicitati] BL, SP, L felicitatis **5** BL, L attollit] SP attollis **7** L parte] BL, SP parti **7** L crassius] BL, SP crassus **10** BL, SP spiritale] L spiritales **15** L silently inserts "pars" following "ecclesiae" **21** L sinceriore] BL, SP sinceriori **21** L deificatiori] BL, SP deficatiori **22** L calore] BL, SP colore **22** id est] BL, SP .i.] L et **22** BL, SP sint] L sunt **23** SP, L dependent] BL dependet

Positioned above the world on the mountain of God, in clear atmosphere and shining air, the church of God has the substance even of its happiness abundantly supplied from the valley of misery in this world; which [church] through its lower virile and active part elevates the higher, more passive part of the world, quite as the rays of the sun, due to its heat, [draw on high] the highest parts of the water, making them thin and rarefying them, with the result that from that [vapor] it may construct as it were a body for itself.[373] And this body, although it is thicker and more corpulent than the spiritual part of the church, is nevertheless more spiritual than the whole worldly body. Thereupon from that body and the denser part of the church, it is well and whole—that is to say, from its highest and more clear section, and from those who have already almost become a spiritual [body], who are as it were the purer, clearer and more vital blood of the body of the church, and from such men in the passive part of the church who are more developed—they are drawn into a spiritual principle, so that they may soon become active parts and spirits—yet at first only of the purified—whose entire office and service is to be engaged in the cleansing and re-creating and nursing of the body, which is the lower and denser part of the church. Between that [lower part of the church] and God, the soul of the church, are spiritual men, the ones who operate and cause everything.

Just as pure, fine, clear, warm spirits are the media in man between his soul and body, generated by the heat of the heart and the finer blood, so likewise between God and the church of assembled men there are, out of those assembled men, out of the part that is more simple and, as it were, more deified, spiritual men, generated by the heat of the blood of God to be the mediaries between God and other men who depend on

[373] To describe his vision of the perfect church, Colet here synthesizes several Biblical topoi, including Christians as the fellow citizens of saints (Eph 2:19), the Christian city on a hill (Matt 5:14), and a land of misery (Job 10:22), as well as a description of the natural process of evaporation. CCC 12. 240 and *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 190 employ the figure of a divine magnet as an alternative representation of the upward attractive force of deity and grace. See also Colet's description of the ideal "christianus mundus" (CCC 12. 242) and *De compositione* 188: "Spiritus autem Dei unus idem et simplex est, sua ipsius unitate constans, et in unita a se civitate permanens, quamdiu patitur unitorum obedientia; quamdiu etiam unitori spiritui confidunt, non sibi ipsis: ex qua sibi ipsis confidencia dissidium nascitur."

etiam ut inter animam hominis et corpus spiritus sunt triplici, in genere alii enim naturales, alii vitales, alii animales – hi summe anime inserviunt,
l6r vitales | sensibus, naturales generationi nutricioni auctioni expurgationi refectioni sanationi et eiusmodi operis in parte corpulentiori hominis – sic ferme ad eundem modum in christo inter deum et partem popularem

1 L corpus] BL, SP corporis **3** sensibus] L inserts a comma and continues as here] BL, SP insert a full stop and follow with upper case "N" **3** BL, SP generationi] L generacione **4** BL, SP operis] L operibus **4** SP: "parte" superscript over struck "caput"

God through them.[374] Moreover, as between the soul of man and the flesh there exist three classes of spirits—namely, the natural, the vital, and the animal[375]—[and as] those [animal spirits] serve the soul, the highest part; the vital [spirits] the senses; the natural [spirits] procreation, nutrition, growth, cleansing, restoring, healing, and actions of this sort in the more corporeal part of man—in nearly the same manner between God and the

[374] Colet's figure of the triadic soul-spirit-body has roots in Galenism and Platonism, the former offering a non-Aristotelean model of the body as embracing three governing members—heart, brain, and liver (sometimes also including testicles, which referred also to women's ovaries)—that in turn governed systems of organs and functions. Each system possessed "virtue" (general powers of action or sensation, mentioned by Colet in the following paragraph), "operations" (functions of particular organs), and "faculties" (abilities of specific parts of the body such as the propulsive faculty of the intestines) (Siraisi 107). In *De vita*, 1.2, Marsilio Ficino advises students to maintain the health of the brain, heart, and liver, as well as the "spirits" mediating among them. He writes of the medical "spiritus" as follows: "apud medicos vapor quidam sanguinis purus, subtilis, calidus et lucidus definitur. Atque ab ipso cordis calore ex subtiliori sanguine procreatus volat ad cerebrum; ibique animus ipso ad sensus tam interiors quam exteriors exercendos assidue utitur. Quamobrem sanguis spiritui servit, spiritus sensibus, sensus denique rationi. Sanguis autem a virtute naturali, quae in iecore stomachoque viget, efficitur. Tenuissima sanguinis pars fluit in cordis fontem, ubi vitalis viget virtus" (110). Galenism's triadic structure of principal members in the body offered a parallel to Origen's triadic structure of the human being as understanding-soul (in lapsed state, capable of choosing good or evil)-body (*Periarchon*, Rufinus's trans., 2.8.2–4), as well as the doctrine of the Trinity and Dionysian triads in the hierarchies. Emphasis on the physiological properties of the mystical body coincided with revived interest in medical theories, beginning with critiques such as that of Niccolò Leoniceno (1428–1524), who advocated new translations to replace medieval authorities such as Pliny and correct corrupt versions of Galen: see Vivian Nutton, "The Fortunes of Galen," *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R.J. Hankinson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 355–390. Colet likely encountered references to Galenic medicine when reading medical texts such as Ficino's *De vita* or Thomas Linacre's Latin translations of Galenic texts dating from the late 1510s. See also *De compositione* in *Opuscula quaedam theological* 194–195. The significant effect of this mystical physiology is the production of "spiritual men"—the reformed, deified individuals and community that for Colet constitutes human perfection.

[375] On the three types of spirits, see Ficino's *De vita* 1.2: "spiritus vero talis, qualis et sanguis et res illae vires quas diximus: naturalis scilicet, vitalis et animalis, a quibus, per quas, in quibus spiritus ipsi concipiuntur, nascuntur atque foventur" (110). See in the same 412 n. 1, which specifies that "animal" in this context refers to what is of the soul; it refers to the ψυχή that Galen theorized was carried by "longitudinal canals in the nerves." In this context, the "vital spirits" refer to the relative autonomy of the circulatory system, although Galen confusingly used the same phrase to refer to the inspired air that is drawn to the left side of the heart and carried thence by the arteries, accounting for the bright red color of the inspired (or oxygenated) blood in what was thought to be the closed arterial circulatory system; the vital spirits stimulate the brain through their composition of air and the warmth concocted in the heart. In contrast, the "natural spirits" were conveyed by the veins in their distinct circulatory system originating in the liver, accounting for the darker color of venous blood concocted there; these spirits govern the non-intellective organs and

sunt tria genera hominum spiritalium. Quorum quidam instar animalium spirituum maxime inserviunt deo, anime ecclesie; quidam qui humiliorem ecclesie partem curant maxime, ut eam reficiant nutriant, foveant, augeant, expurgent, conservent; quidam inter hos medii, qui subserviunt quasi sensibus, et eos, ut sensibiles qualitates sacramentorum in ecclesia agnoscant, illuminant. Primi hi et viciniores carnali parti ecclesie vivificant carnem purgatoria virtute, fedam eorum mortem abluentes, ut in spe dei vivant. Secundi, qui sensus spiritales faciunt, purgatos sperantesque in deo illuminant, ut sacramenta ecclesie et omne sacratius signum perfecte sentiant credentes, et eo summa fide delectentur. Tercii illi quidem et summi, qui in deum toto desiderio intenti sunt, qui simplicem cuiusque sensus racionem perspicue intelligunt. Eos, qui senserunt signa et fide
l6v sacramenta, qui idonei ex eis et maturi ad se acce-|dunt, mysteriorum et sensibilium rerum simplices raciones quatenus capaces sunt, speculatores faciunt; ut, quod fide senserint iam dudum sub sacerdotibus, iam tandem sub pontifice cum summo amore intelligant ac pro capacitate impleti mysteriis perficiantur. Lux enim res rara et tenuis est si non quasi condensetur calore; et spectacio sensibilium rerum pene inanis est et vacua, si amore intellectorum mysteriorum non impleantur. Mysteriorum visio amor et cultus complet et perficit omnia. Supremi ergo illi perficientes sunt pontifices, medii illuminantes sacerdotes, primi purgantes ministri.

4 L conservent] BL, SP conservant

activities of the body, including hunger, elimination, and procreation (Brock, ed., *On the Natural Faculties* [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1916], xxxiv–xxxv; Siraisi 107–109). Imbalances in the concoctions within the liver (whose vapors, like those of the heart, could ascend to the brain) accounted for melancholia; those in the heart for harmful sanguinity. Colet compares the church's clerical orders to vital spirit (the Galenic πνεῦμα), and he extends the comparison that appears in Ficino of bodily spirits to the divine spirit to also include Dionysian hierarchies within the body of Christ, a comparison Colet develops also in *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 188–189, 192–193, 194. On Ficino, see Reginald Hyatte, "The 'Visual Spirits' and Body-Soul Mediation: Socratic Love in Marsilio Ficino's *De Amore*," *Rinascimento* 33ns (1993), 213–222.

part that comprises the people there exist three types of spiritual men within [the mystical body of] Christ. Some of these, exemplifying the animal spirits, serve God, the soul of the Church; some mostly care for the lower part of the church so they may restore, nourish, support, increase, purify, maintain it; and some [are] the mean between them, who serve as it were the senses, and illumine them so that they may perceive the sensible qualities of the sacraments in the church. The first ones, those nearer the fleshly part of the church, give life to the flesh by means of a purgative[376] virtue, cleansing away their fetid death, in order that they may live in God's hope. The second, those who enact the spiritual senses, illumine those purified and hoping in God, so that, believing, they perceive perfectly the sacraments of the church and each more sacred sign, and in that they take joy by the greatest faith. The third are those who are highest, who have been turned to God in total desire, who understand clearly the simple principle of each sense. They make contemplatives regarding the simple principles of mysteries and sensible things those who have by faith perceived the signs and sacraments and who have come from them fit and ready, as far as they are capable; so that, what they not long ago would have perceived by faith beneath the priests, now at least they may understand with the greatest love beneath the pontifex, and filled full of mysteries according to their capacity be perfected. For light is thin and slight if it is not condensed by heat, as it were; and the contemplation of things that may be perceived is nearly empty and void if [those viewing] are not filled by love of the intellected mysteries. The vision, love, and worship of the mysteries fill and perfect everything. Therefore the highest, those who are the perfector are the pontifices; those in the middle rank, who illumine, are the priests; and the first [i.e., lowest], who cleanse, are the deacons.[377]

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[376] purgatoria>Latham (citing medical sense, 1564).

[377] In this paragraph Colet reintroduces in this work his transposition of the first two cardinal virtues, with the series hope-faith-charity replacing the faith-hope-charity of 1 Cor 13:13. Jayne offers a speculative chronology of Colet's development of this inversion, together with some implications for Colet's soteriology, in association with Colet's annotations to Ficino's *Epistolae* (58–68); see Kaufman, *Augustinian Piety* for additional soteriological implications; Lochman, "*Fiducia* and *Fides* in the Romans *Expositio* of John Colet," emphasizes the distinction between *fiducia* as trust involving expectation, which Colet tends to associate with hope, and the intellectual belief associated with *fides*. Colet's fullest development of the series occurs in ER 12.175–198; here, Colet emphasizes the association of hope with Dionysian purification and spiritual rebirth that precedes initiation into the illumination and perfection achieved by intellectual and affective advances in illumination and perfection.

Qui autem purgantur in simplicem deo spem, ut se sistant in ipso, et sperantes iam respirent in eo, ac renati nova creatura, [fiant] nunc creatura nova penitus – hi in primo ecclesie gradu sunt et vestibulo, et quasi ossa eius crassa firmitate, parum in se sensus habentes, sed stabiles spe in omnibus, que agunt in mundo pro sustentatione superioris ecclesie, ex deo pendentes, qui sunt certe conquisitores necessariorum vite, ministri non callidi ingenii sed – boni dei et solertis nature – dei et nature
l7r suppeditacionem excipientes, et eam sum | ministrantes aliis, ut in temporalibus ministri sint ministris spiritalium. Omnia enim sunt dei. Nemo habet quod det suum; nemo possidet quod non accepit. Domini est terra et plenitudo eius. Illius sunt quidem iure et temporalia omnia et spiritalia qui creavit omnia. Temporalia ex terra sunt spiritalia ex celo.

2 L [fiant]] BL, SP gap of four spaces after "creatura" 9 BL, SP Omnia] L Omni

Those purified toward simple hope in God so that they might stand in him alone, and, hoping now, might breathe once again in him, and, now reborn as a new creation, might become utterly a new creation[378]–they are now at the first step and vestibule of the church, and [are] as it were stout bones, having senses inadequately strong in themselves but stable with hope in all the things that they do in the world for the support of the higher church, depending on God, who are surely co-treasurers[379] of the necessary things of life, ministers not adroit in natural talent but drawing upon the abundance of God and of an ingenious nature—of a good God and an ingenious nature—and sub-ministering it to others so that they are ministers in temporal things to ministers of the spiritual. For all things are of God. No one has what is his own to give; no one owns what he has not been given. The earth and its abundance are the Lord's. Assuredly, all that are temporal and spiritual rightly belong to him who has created all. Temporal things are from the earth; spiritual things from heaven.[380]

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[378] Lupton speculates that the repetition of "nova creatura" is a scribal error (130n); however, Colet often plays on words' multiple senses, as possibly here on the senses of "creatura" as someone or something created by some external agent, someone born or as a consequence of sexual union, and spiritual rebirth. See 2 Cor 16–19: "Itaque nos ex hoc neminem novimus secundum carnem. Et si cognovimus secundum carnem Christum, sed nunc jam non novimus. Si qua ergo in Christo nova creatura, vetera transierunt: ecce facta sunt omnia nova. Omnia autem ex Deo, qui nos reconciliavit sibi per Christum: et dedit nobis ministerium reconciliationis, quoniam quidem Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi, non reputans illis delicta ipsorum, et posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis." See also Gal 6:15.

[379] Conquisitores> OLD: "recruiting officers" or "inspectors"; the word's root, the Roman "quaestor," however, describes a magistrate whose duties often included supervision of the treasury and financial matters.

[380] Colet affirms both the value of nature due to its derivation from God and those who maintain the goods of nature, perhaps alluding to the guildsmen who comprised the financial backbone of London. As the Introduction notes, his father Henry served for many years as a principal in the Mercers' Company and had been elected to two terms as Lord Mayor. The temporal goods he amassed through commerce provided the patrimony that permitted Colet to re-found St. Paul's School according to the principles eventually framed as its Statutes, with a newly constructed building, specially commissioned textbooks, and notable, well-paid teachers. Colet's respect for the temporality seems evident in his 1512 petition to the Pope to transfer authority for administration of the School from the Cathedral's chapter to representatives of the Mercers' Company (Lupton 3–14, 154–177, Appendix A 271–284 (Statutes); Gleason 15–33, 217–234; Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 88–107). The mutual reciprocity Colet envisions for the spiritual and temporal portions of the church relies on a conception of beneficence that is often missed by some of Colet's modern readers who have instead emphasized passages that set his idea of an idealized, spiritual church in opposition to actions of lapsed human nature—including the pursuit of philosophy and the physically procreative act: see Eugene Rice, "John Colet and the

Humilior et terrestrior ecclesie pars ministra est temporalium, dei opera et racione simplici; celestis vero illa et sublimior elargitur spiritalia ministra magne benignitatis dei. Hi sunt ministri corpulentiori et crassiori ecclesie parti in vitam sempiternam spiritale eis pabulum largiter prebentes; humilior vero pars, que spe ex deo pendet et sedulo ex terra trahit quo pascatur ecclesia – hec pars spiritaliori illi sumministrat vitam temporalem. Ita mutuis officiis et beneficiis ecclesia, dum hic militat, dumque est partim temporalis partim et maxime spiritalis, utrinque et ex superiori et ex inferiori loco, in divitiis dei, et temporalibus et spiritalibus dei servis et ministris, se sancte exercentibus, in utraque vita sustinere et temporali et spiritali; superiori parte inferiori viventi temporaliter, et inferiori
l7v ex superior-|ri viventi et valenti spiritaliter, ut tota ecclesia in hoc mundo necessariis dumtaxat, et ea quoque leviter in diem, conquisitis, in spiritalem hic contendat vitam, in vitam eternam.

In hac humilissima ecclesie parte sunt vocati cathecumini et iam instructi et revocati penitentes et exorcizati energumini et recuperati apostate. Horum est opere et labore corporis in terrenis dei divitiis corporalem ecclesie victum queritare, ut in terrenis se exerceant in omni simplicitate et veritate, ministri iam dei in his terrestribus in refectionem caduce et corporee partis ecclesie. Hi sunt, quos in sua prima epistola ad Corinthios scripta concordiam suadens Paulus toti illi ecclesie assimulat vilioribus corporis membris, que quo minus speciosa sunt aliis, eo magis sunt necessaria, et sui, ut integra conserventur, maiorem curam habe[at]. Ex hoc hominum genere si quando aliqui eorum ex summa et sereniore parte ministrorum assiduitate et opera evaserint tandem deificatiores –

11 SP, L viventi] BL vivente **12** viventi et valenti] BL, SP, L vivente et valente **13** L dumtaxat] BL, SP duntaxat **16** L recuperati] BL, SP recuperate **21** toti illi] BL toti ille] SP, L omit "ille" **21** BL, SP assimulat] L assimilat **23** habeat] BL: partial erasure of -ant following Hab-] SP space after habe-] L habe[nt] **25** deificatiores] BL, SP deficatiores] L deificaciores

Annihilation of the Natural" 141–163; H.C. Porter, "The Gloomy Dean and the Law: John Colet, 1466–1519" 18–34; Gleason 17, 185–188, 192, and *passim*; Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 26–29 and *passim*). Colet's idea of mutuality within the body of Christ permits him to assign superior and inferior values to ranks of Christians, as Dionysius does, while recuperating the value of the temporality and their production of goods from nature.

The lower and earthier part of the church is a minister of temporal things with the help of God and with a simple understanding; but the heavenly and more sublime [part] distributes that which is spiritual and is a minister of the great bounty of God. Those are the ministers to the more corporeal and denser part of the church, freely offering spiritual nourishment to them toward eternal life, but the humbler part, which depends on God in hope and assiduously takes from the earth that with which the church is fed—this part ministers temporal life to those more spiritual. So the church soldiers on now and again with mutual offices and services[381] and is partly temporal, partly yet mostly spiritual, from the place of the superior and inferior, in temporal and spiritual matters, keeping themselves holily busy on one side and the other, the servants and ministers in the wealth of God, to uphold [the part] in each mode of life, the temporal and the spiritual; with the higher part living temporally in the lower, and the lower living and thriving spiritually in the higher, so that the entire church in this world, with only the necessaries sought after, and those even lightly and for the time being, may strive onwards in this place toward the spiritual life, which is life eternal.

Within that humblest part of the church are the catechumens, called and now instructed, the recalled penitents, the exorcised energumens, and the recovered apostates. Theirs it is to seek out persistently the church's bodily nourishment through work and bodily labor in God's earthly wealth, that they may employ themselves in earthly pursuits in all simplicity and truth, as ministers of God now among these earthly things in reparation of the presently lapsed and corporeal part of the church. These are they whom Paul, having written his first epistle to the Corinthians to advise concord throughout the whole church, likens to the less noble members of the body, who insofar as they are less comely than others are the more necessary and of whom [the church] takes the greater care so that they may be kept whole.[382] If ever any from among the highest and more serene part of this group of men—every inward sin having been

[381] beneficiiis, perhaps with something of the ecclesiastical sense of "benefices."

[382] 1 Cor 12:20–23: "Nunc autem multa quidem membra, unum autem corpus. Non potest autem oculus dicere manui: Opera tua non indigeo: aut iterum caput pedibus: Non estis mihi necessarii. Sed multo magis quæ videntur membra corporis infirmiora esse, necessariora sunt: et quæ putamus ignobiliora membra esse corporis, his honorem abundantiorem circumdamus: et quæ inhonesta sunt nostra, abundantiorem honestatem habent."

omni peccati sorde detersa penitus – ut iam dyaphinitate perspicui et lucis
l8r alicuius capaces a perspicacibus mi-|nistris censeantur, tunc sacerdotibus offeruntur, ut ab eis perfusi copiosiori luce maiore fide splendeant, quibus offeruntur spectacula fidei, ut claro mentis oculo sensibilia sacramenta quibus a sacerdotibus iniciati erant iam purgati discernant. Iniciatique iam sacris christianis et sacerrimis signis insigniti sine offensione in sensu spiritus speculatores sint divinarum et illustrium in christo imaginum, ipsi quoque modo lucentes eisdem simulachris et ostentantes in omni humilitate signa in se et notas et caracteres humano ministerio sed divino sigillo impressos sublimioris certe et simplicioris lucis veritatisque dignissimi testes. Hi ianuam modo ingressi sunt templi dei et vulgatiorem supellectilem domus dei contemplantur, non admissi adhuc ad eas que secretiores sunt opes et reconditiores in penetrabilibus dei, que in sua archa sapientie sancte et religiose custodit pontifex, quas non est phas prodere nisi amore dei divinarumque rerum perfectis et consummatis christianis.

Dionysius eos a sacerdotibus sacramentis illuminatos, quos nunc sacris interesse et ea spectare licet, sub nomine sancte plebis comprehendit, qui
l8v fide maxime | vigent.

Alii interea tales, qui in purgatione sui presentes sacris esse non possunt, si non sint, cuiusmodi non esse facile non possunt, tum in parando victu ecclesie, iniciati sacris et sancta plebs se occupet. Potest enim superior in ecclesia quicquid inferius, non contra quidem.

Summa vero et serenior pars sancte plebis, que nunc aspiravit quasi in regionem ignis et amore calet presto, ut inflammetur, ea a sacerdotibus tradatur pontifici, ut ei opportune in perfectionem extremam manum imponat eamque, quatenus capere potest, simplicibus nudis mysteriis

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3 BL copiosiori] SP, L copiosiore **11–12** supellectilem] SP "el" superscript between "p" and "l" **19** interea] SP: "a" superscript **22** L non contra] BL, SP non econtra **25** extremam] SP omits second "e"; inserts it as superscript at end of line

cleansed entirely—had, through the ministers' constant effort and work, finally joined those who are more deified,[383] with the result that sharp-eyed ministers at that time appraised them as transparent and capable of receiving any light, they were then offered to the priests so that by them they may be filled. And now, initiated in the Christian rites and marked by the most sacred signs, they may be without offense explorers in the sense of the spirit, of the divine and illustrious images in Christ, also themselves now shining through those [sacramental] representations and showing in all humility the signs and stamps and impressed letters left by the human ministry within themselves, but impressed [also] by the divine seal surely [they are] the worthiest eyewitnesses of the more sublime and simple light and truth. These [initiates] have entered the vestibule only of God's temple and may gaze at the more commonly seen furnishings of God's home, as yet having no admission to those riches that are more secret and more hidden in the inner chambers of God's, which the pontifex holily and reverently keeps in his treasure-chest of wisdom—[things] forbidden to reveal save to those Christians perfected by and consummated in the love of God and of divine things.

Dionysius includes under the name of the holy people, who especially thrive in faith, those illuminated by priests for the sacraments, who are now allowed to be near what is sacred and to witness it.[384]

In the meantime others, of the type who, in their purification, cannot be in view of sacred things, at whose [sight] they cannot be just now, they, as people being initiated to sacred things and as a holy people, busy themselves then in obtaining the sustenance of the church. For the higher in the church can do whatever the lower [can]; not vice versa.

Indeed the priests should draw the highest and more serene segment of the holy people, which now has breathed as it were in the region of fire and is aglow with love, ready to be set aflame by it, to the pontifex, so that, toward most complete perfection, he may fittingly impose his hand upon it and fill it as much as possible with simple, unclothed mysteries,

[383] Deificatiores seems to be Colet's coinage>deificatio (Latham).

[384] Dionysius's order of "the sacred people" receives only slightly more attention than Colet allows them here: see DEH 6. 1. 2 (PG 3. 532B–C). Colet's discussion of the temporal and humbler parts of the church, whose usefulness offsets its lack of spiritual beauty, would seem to apply to the general laity as well as to the ranks of initiates.

perimpleat, quibus conspectis fragret amore. Hi super plebem sunt quos Dionysius vocat Monachos, que plebis pars liquidior est iam inflammata amore, ut ignis instar celestibus orbibus adhereat, in quo loci ita proficiant, ut in ministrorum ordinem possunt promoveri, ut qui sunt summi in pacientibus, sint infimi in agentibus. Cuiusmodi autem est pontifex inter spiritales tales sunt monachi singulares et solitares inter corporales, et inter illos quales sunt sacerdotes tales inter hos sunt qui in sancta plebe
m1r numerantur. Et | inter illos denique qui sunt ministri tales sunt in his ii qui in manibus sunt purgantium.

	Pontifex	Monachus	Perfectio.
Spiritus	Sacerdotes	Sancta plebs	Illuminatio.
	Ministri	Qui purgantur	Purgatio.

	Monachi perfecti.	Pontifex: perficiens bonitate.
Corpus	Plebs discens.	Sacerdotes: illuminant doctrina.
	In purgatione penitentes	Ministri: purgantes potentia

9 purgantium] BL: vertical chart (ninety degree from horizontal) occupies all but first two lines of text (m1r) **14** BL, SP illuminant] L illuminantes

on which having fixed its eyes it smells of love.[385] The ones raised above the [holy] people are those Dionysius calls Monks, which [group] is the clearer part of the people, already inflamed with love so that they cleave like fire to celestial orbs; in which place they may progress so far that they may be advanced to the rank of ministers, so those who are topmost in things requiring patience may be lowest in things demanding action. In the same measure as is the pontifex among those who are spiritual, such are the single and solitary monks among the corporeal; and, among those [monks], the priests are of such a sort as [monks] are among those counted as holy people. And finally among the former those who are ministers are such as among the latter are those who are in the hands of the purifiers.

	Pontifex.	Monk.	Perfection.
Spirit	Priests.	Holy people.	Illumination.
	Ministers.	Those being purified.	Purification.

	Monks being perfected.	The pontifex, perfecting in goodness.
Body	People learning.	Priests, enlightening with doctrine.
	Penitents in purification.	Ministers, purifying by power.[386]

[385] Colet's synesthesia seems deliberate in that the imagery of sight and smell unifies the sacramental rites of the eucharist and chrism in Chapters 3 and 4, while the simple and unclothed mysteries recall the recollection and disrobing discussed in connection with the baptismal rite in Chapter 2. DEH 6. 1. 3 (PG 3. 532C–533A) links the consecration of the most perfect of the lowest (second human) rank to the instruction of the most perfect clerical (highest human) rank, beneath the three sacraments. Colet's association of the monks with perfecting fire and love is his own addition to Dionysius, who emphasizes the monks' contemplative activity, education directly under the hierarch, and consecration by priests.

[386] Colet's chart is notable in that it omits reference to Dionysius's ecclesiastical triad of sacraments and any mention of the four orders of initiates discussed at some length above. By associating the clerical orders with the spirit of the mystical body and the monks-laity-penitents with its figurative body, Colet leaves open the association of triads such as the soul of the mystical body and the Trinity and sets aside the orders of initiates as outside the boundaries of the mystical body, though apparently proximate to it. To the triad of the body he adds the rank "in purgatione penitentes," which, though possibly an umbrella for all the orders of initiates, seems more likely to refer to those previously initiated members of the body who, having lapsed, are undergoing purification, as through the sacrament of reconciliation. This group would seem to be distinct from the penitents included among the varied types of initiates in that the latter are simply being called back to the church whereas the former seem to be undergoing the process of restoration.

[VI.2, 3]

m1v [M]onachus ex purissima plebis parte procreatus est, iam totus simplex in se et unus ac uni deo omnino et penitus deditus quatenus quisque ex populo dedi et tradi potest. Ut illuminati baptismate suum habent consecrationis ritum, ut hec plebs sancta sacra signa speculetur, ita ex populo consummati in unitatem ac in alium perfectionis gradum provecti illius rei cerimonialem consignationem habent, ut sensibilis habitus spiritalem professionem admoneat et indicet. Itaque monachus aliquis ut unitatem, quam modo assecutus est, et indivisibilem vivendi racionem profiteatur, ad aliquem ex genere sacerdotali (qui mihi videntur tenuisse eum locum in prima ecclesia quem apud nos dyaconi) accedit, et pone illum ante altare stat erectus in deum unus simplex solitarius.

1 VI.2, 3] The section following the chart continues until the break in BL and SP preceding discussion of rites of the dead (beginning at m3r below). Lupton combined the summary of rites and spiritual contemplation sections to create a chapter with two rather than three sections. **7** cerimonialem] L ceremonialem] BL, SP cerimonialem—Ramminger cites "c(a)erimoniola" in Erasmus's *Enchiridion* (1503), *Moriae Encomium* (1509), and a letter (*Selections from Erasmus*, ed. P. S. Allen [Oxford 1918], 16). **8** BL, SP professionem] L processionem **8** SP: superscript "ut"

Chapter 6.2, 3 On the Consecration of Regular Clergy

A monk is generated out of the purest part of the people, being entirely simple and unified in himself and entirely and completely given up to the one God so far as anyone from out of the people may be given up and handed over.[387] Just as the illumined have their rite of consecration through baptism so that holy people may witness holy signs, so from out of the people those completed in solitude and advanced to another degree of perfection have a ceremonial sealing of their matter so that appearance attained through what the senses perceive may bring a spiritual profession to mind and make it known.[388] Therefore when a monk has attained the limit of solitude and professes an undivided way of living, he goes to someone from an order belonging to the priests (who seem to me to have held in the early church the status that for us approaches that of deacon), and [the monk] stands behind him, in front of the altar, erect to God, one, simple, solitary.[389]

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[387] Colet's language, drawn from DEH 6. 2 and 6. 3, mostly concerns the initiation of the monk to divine mysteries as symbolized in the rite of tonsure. Rorem (in Luibheid) notes that Dionysius's text nowhere identifies the specified symbolic actions as a "consecration" parallel to the ordination of the clerical ranks, although the section's subheading does so, referring to the mystery of the monk's "consecration" (245 n. 178). Although Dionysius refers to the ranks of the holy people and initiates in 6.1, they are neglected in 6. 2–6. 3, save for a passing mention in an epitome of the entire human hierarchy in 6. 3. 5 (PG 3. 536D). Presumably, the holy people and initiates receive a "consecration," as it were, into their ranks through the admission to the sacraments of baptism, the eucharist, and muron dicussed in Chapters 2–4.

[388] Comparison of the rites for the monk to the holy people's rite of consecration in baptism seems to be Colet's, being found neither in DEH or TEH.

[389] Colet subordinates monks to priests in the hierarchy, consistent with Dionysius's placement of monks at the head of a triad below the hierarchs, priests, and deacons. As explained in the Introduction, Feisal G. Mohammed, following Gleason's comment that Colet better fits the Franciscan rather than Thomist-Aristotelian school (199), argues that "parallels to Bonaventuran mysticism and polemic" "complicate" more usual views linking Colet's hierarchies to Augustine and Platonism and help to demonstrate that, due to his connection to medieval theology, Colet is not the proto-reformer once believed. While Colet may have known Bonaventure's *Collations on the Hexaemeron*, especially the 21st and 22nd, and perhaps derives some linkages between the Trinity and the celestial and ecclesiatical triads therefrom, CEH demonstrates little if any direct influence from Bonaventure, and the unqualified subordination of monks to priests in this passage is contrary to Bonaventure's ingenious complication of Dionysius's hierarchies wherein a contemplative rank of regular clergy comes to the fore, capped by St. Francis as the human equivalent of the Seraphic apex of contemplative rapture, parallel but superior to the pope in the regular hierarchy and the apostles in the church militant (*In the Anteroom of Divinity: The Reformation of the Angels from Colet to Milton* [Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2008], 20–34;

Sacerdos postquam deo gracias egit, versus [ad] hominem audit illum severissima professione omnem divisionem ac dispersionem vite abrenunciare in perpetuum, in unum se collectum tenere, oculum simplicem,
m2r ut totum corpus suum sit lucidum; in unam | partem duntaxat tendere, deo soli inservire. In hac magna professione insignitionem sancte crucis patitur, ut que predicat se abrenunciare, in christi cruce mortua esse intelligantur, nunquam amplius in ipso revictura. Tonditur cesaries, ut omni diviso et superfluo abraso quam mundissimus in conspectu dei appareat. Mutat vestem mutans vitam, ut vite simpliciori simplicior vestis congruat. Hoc observatum est in omni sancta mutatione: ut, quum se interior homo ab habitu spiritali in alium se spiritalem habitum transmutat, tum simul exterior homo idem faciet, ut habitus exterior interiori respondeat. Hinc a sanctis apostolis vita hominis vestis et tunica appellatur. Osculum autem habet significationem suavissime coniunctionis. Ad eucharistiam denique admittitur, sed modo sacratiori quam plebs reliqua, qui nunc mysteriorum gnarus est. Ita monachus quasi populi monadon consummatur rite et perficitur. Qui vetus mos iniciandi et consecrandi non modo monachos sed omnes alios quoscunque ordines, qui propter institutionem apostolorum summam authoritatem habuit et sanctissime in prima ecclesia

1 L inserts "[ad]" after versus **7** BL ipso] SP, L ipsum **13** BL, SP vita] L vitae **14** significationem] BL, SP significantionem] L significacionem

cf. *De contemplatione militantis Ecclesiae*, IV. iii [= *Collatio* 22], *Collationes in Hexamëron*, ed. R.P. Ferdinandus Delorme, O.F.M. [Florence: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1934], 249–257). Although Colet seems to have longed to pursue a contemplative life, especially late in his career (see the Introduction), his views, following Dionysius's ecclesiology, clearly subordinate the regular to the secular clergy, consistent with Erasmus's comments on Colet's lack of sympathy for monks due to the laxity he perceived in many of their houses (*Vies et de Jean Vitrier et de John Colet*, ed. Andre Godin [Angers: Moreana, 1982], 66, 60).

After the priest has offered gifts to God, having turned to the man, he hears him renounce every division and deviation of life in perpetuity by the sternest declaration, hears that he is keeping himself gathered into unity, his eye simple, so that his whole body may shine; and that he is striving towards only one direction, that he is serving God alone. In this great profession, he suffers the mark of the holy cross so that whatever he claims to renounce must be understood as being dead on Christ's cross, never to live again from this time on within him. Flowing hair is cropped since he would appear as elegant as possible in the sight of God by having everything divided and superfluous shaven. The one changing [his] life changes clothes, so that simpler clothing may coincide with a simpler life. This has been seen in every holy transformation, that, when the interior man transforms himself from one spiritual habit to another spiritual habit, into another self, then the exterior man will do the same, so that the exterior habit should agree with the interior. Hence the apostles call the life of man clothing and a tunic.[390] Moreover, the kiss bears the signification of the sweetest union. Finally he who is now expert in the mysteries is given access to the eucharist, but in a more sacred way than other people. In this way the monk is properly completed and perfected as the monad[391] of the people. And this ancient custom of initiating and consecrating not only monks but all other orders whatever, which held highest authority from the institution of the apostles and was observed

[390] Lupton's marginal note (135) incorrectly cites 1 Cor 5:4; see instead 2 Cor 5:2–4: "Nam et in hoc ingemiscimus, habitationem nostram, quæ de cælo est, superindui cupientes: si tamen vestiti, non nudi inveniamur. Nam et qui sumus in hoc tabernaculo, ingemiscimus gravati: eo quod nolumus expoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur quod mortale est, a vita." See also see Matt 7:15: "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces" and Mk 2:21: "Nemo assumentum panni rudis assuit vestimento veteri: alioquin aufert supplementum novum a veteri, et major scissura fit."

[391] Monadon. See DEH 6. 3. 2, where the monk is said to be "made one with the sacred monad" (PG 3. 533D–536A: πρός ἱερὰν μονάδα συνάγεσθαι); TEH 40^{r} ("sacra monadem"). Dionysius's Monad refers to the unity of God, out of whom flows multiplicity. Wear and Dillon observe that in the *Divine Names*, "Dionysius, like Porphyry, can be seen as applying the first and second hypotheses of the *Parmenides* to the supreme principle, dividing the hypotheses according to the appropriate functions of the divine: the first hypothesis expresses God in his transcendent state, while the second hypothesis describes God in his creative aspect" (16). Like Dionysius's, Colet's use, which describes the undivided unity of the monk who participates in deity through the hierarchy, steers clear of gnostic senses of the Monad that set the One as the source of divine emanations of light apart from, or even in opposition to, matter.

m2v observatus fuit – po-|sterioribus seculis nescio qua pontificum abolevit mos vetus et alius deinde eciam nescio qua temeritate hominum novis signis et ceremoniis inolevit, et invaluit [i]am tantum, ut reverendissime antiquitatis et apostolorum sanctissime institutionis in ecclesia que nunc est ne vestigium quidem appareat.

Quod si divus Dionysius (qui mihi videtur in nostra ecclesia qualis erat in Moysaica synagoga Esdras, qui voluit mysteria veteris legis mandari litteris ne turbatione rerum et hominum tante sapientie memoria depereriret) – quod si ad eundem modum, quasi divinasset hominum futuram negligentiam, divus Dionysius, que tenuit memoria ex statutis apostolorum in disponenda et ordinanda ecclesia suo felici calamo descripta non reliquisset, nihil recordationis veteris moris habuissemus. Quod iam a consuetudine decessisse ingemendum est, sane quum nos in conservandis institutis patrum nostrorum multo studiosiores esse debemus quam erant hebrei in suis traditionibus retinendis, quanto nostra excellentiora et clariora sunt quam que erant illorum et maioris veritatis purioris significamina, quorum rationem et congruitatem maxime nimirum noverunt
m3r apostoli, qu[ibus] spiritus revelavit | omnia, ut non poterat esse quin illi sapienter intellexerint que singula singulis apte accommodarent; et iusta concinnitate depingerent spiritales veritates in propriis signis – que postea demutata esse haud scio quomodo sine nephario scelere contigit – quum credendum est illos a spiritu sancto doctos omnia in ecclesia

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1 L abolevit] BL, SP obolevit **3** iam] BL, SP gap of one space before "-am"] L jam **7** SP, L omit "in" **18** quibus] BL, SP: gap of four spaces after "qu-"] L qu[ibus]

most holily in the early church—I know not which of the pontifices did away with the ancient custom in later centuries, and I know not by what rashness of men another has grown up thereafter, with new signs and rites, and by this time it has become so predominate that not a single vestige of most reverend antiquity and the holiest institution of the apostles may be found in the church as it now exists.[392]

Yet if holy Dionysius (who seems to me in our church as Esdras was in the Mosaic synagogue, who wished the mysteries of the old law to be entrusted to writing lest due to the confusion of things and men the memory of so great a wisdom should utterly perish)—yet if in this manner holy Dionysius, as if he had foretold man's future carelessness, had not transcribed what he retained in memory from the statutes of the apostles as to disposing and ordering the church, we would have had no record of ancient practice.[393] But now to have departed from custom is to be lamented, when we ought surely to be much more eager to preserve what our fathers have instituted than were the Hebrews in retaining theirs, in that ours are more excellent and clearer, of greater truth and purer significance[394] than theirs, whose principle and fitness the apostles undoubtedly perceived, to whom the spirit has disclosed all so that it could not be but that they wisely understood what to fit appropriately, each to each; and that they portrayed spiritual truths by fit signs, with due elegance—what has befallen afterwards—changed I know not how without foul crime—when it is believed those taught by the holy spirit

[392] The elliptical structure emphasizes Colet's elegiac evocation of the lost customs of the primitive church, inspired here ironically by the writings of the pseudonymous author who appropriates the authority and title of Dionysius. Humanist nostalgia for the origins of Christianity extends to the end of the chapter and, by the pointing to apparent deviations arising in later centuries, Colet advocates for liturgical and ecclesiastical reform, as well as the desire for reform of the biblical text he shared with Erasmus.

[393] See n. 307 above and Esdras 14:5–6. Apparently harking back to Pico's *Apologia*, Colet draws an analogy between Esdras, the presumed scribe of oral kabbalistic lore and Dionysius, the presumed author of the primitive church's mysteries in DEH. Pico noted that Dionysius referred to the church's founders as communicating "occult mysteries" ("secretiora mysteria") orally to protect them from the vulgar but he does not speculate about Dionysius's motives for writing them (*Opera Omnia* 1. 122–123). In the *Apologia*'s disputation "De magica naturali et Cabala," Pico marshals evidence to support the idea of the Kabbalah as a repository of secret oral truths by focusing on Esdras and the council of the seventy elders as the source of the written Kabbalah, but he does not refer directly to Dionsyius (*Opera Omnia* 1. 176–178).

[394] significamina, apparently Colet's coinage.

instituisse. Nam apud Ioannem sunt hec salvatoris verba: Quum autem venerit ille spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem. Non enim loquetur a semetipso, sed quecunque audiet loquetur, et que ventura sunt annunciabit vobis. Quorum sanctissime traditiones quia posthabite sunt et neglecte quiaque homines a spiritu dei ad proprias inventiones deciderunt, hinc profecto omnia misere conturbata sunt et confusa. Et, ut ante dicebamus, si deus non misertus fuerit, interibunt omnia.

[VII.1]

[E]st indubitantur credendum, qui regenerati sunt in christo, quorum peccatrix vita interiit, quique iusto vixerunt, ut iusti moriantur, sicut chri-
m3v stus iustus mortuus fuit, tales pro propugnatione iniquitatis et pro-|tutacione iusticie dei in ipsis iusticie premium excedentes ex hac vita, primum in sancta eorum anima habituros ac deinde suo tempore in carneque eciam, que erat comes in itinere ad deum et in bello socia (que sua cuique anime recopulabitur): ut quisque iustus homo totus ipse in christo et animo et corpore in gloria beatus sit. Quod Saduceis non credentibus resurrectionem omnis veritatis conscius Iesus affirmavit dicens, Quum a mortuis resurrexerint neque nubent neque nubentur, sed erunt

5 L sunt] BL, SP sane **10** SP, L justo] BL juste **14–15** L omits "que sua cuique anime recopulabitur"

established everything in the church.[395] For these are the words of the Savior found in John: "But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth. For he shall not speak of himself, but what things soever he shall hear, he shall speak; and the things that are to come, he shall shew you."[396] Since the inheritance of the things that are holiest has grown less esteemed and neglected and since men have fallen from God's spirit to their own inventions, from this all things are violently disordered and confused indeed. And, as we said above, if God will not have mercy, all things will perish.

Chapter 7.1 On the Death of Christians

One must believe without doubt [that] those who have been reborn in Christ, [those] whose sinful life has perished and who have lived by what is just, have died, just as Christ died, being just, due to the battle against iniquity and the advance of the justice of God within them; such, [when] passing out of this life, are to possess the reward of justice first in their holy soul and thereafter, in due time, in the flesh, which was a companion on the journey to God and a comrade in battle (and which will be rejoined each with its own soul), so that every just man may be blessed in Christ himself, both in [his] soul and in the glory of [his] body.[397] Aware of every truth, Jesus proved that to Sadducees who did not believe in the resurrection, saying, "For when they shall rise again from the dead, they

[395] Colet employs the "quantum magis" rhetorical strategy of comparing the actions of Christians to those of ancient classical or Hebrew cultures, with the purpose of holding Christians to a higher standard. O'Malley has demonstrated the pervasiveness of the strategy in humanist sermons preached at the papal court during the time Colet would have been in Rome; Colet would have encountered the rhetorical strategy also in many humanist texts, but he gives it an additional twist by allowing the comparison to emphasize the loss to the contemporary church of the pristine, apostolic rituals and their understanding he attributes to Paul's disciple. See Lochman "Rhetoric and English Humanism: The Case of John Colet,"42–57.

[396] John 16:13: "Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veritatem: non enim loquetur a semetipso, sed quæcumque audiet loquetur, et quæ ventura sunt annuntiabit vobis."

[397] Behind Colet's metaphor of the soul's journey to God, a soteriological commonplace, may lie a reference to Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in deum*, which in turn at 7.5 refers to Dionysius's *Mystical Theology* 1.1 when describing the "mental excess" at the culmination of the journey from the perceptible to the union beyond being and knowledge (*Opera Omnia* [Quaracchi, 1891] 5. 312–313). Here, Colet adapts the principle of transcendence to the doctrine of the glorified flesh.

sicut angeli dei in cel[is]. Qua spe sustentati, boni, qui sanctam hic vitam in christo egerint, libenter et letabunde moriuntur, partim gaudentes se evasisse periculum casus, in quod forsan inciderent si vita eorum longius produceretur, partim vel maxime gaudebundi, expectantes perfuncti laboris premium et christiane militie coronam glorie, que legittime certantibus sine dubio reservatur. De quo illorum sanctorum felici exitu et morte eciam simul amici et propinqui valde gaudent gratulanturque, et sibi parem vite consummationem in christo exoptant, ut iusticie semita servata usque ad mortem in ipsa morte vitam temporalem et erumnosam
m4r pro felici et eterna commutent, in christoque sine fi-|ne vivant. Qua spe gaudentes in defuncto ac plane persuasum habentes illum migrasse ad christum, funus exultantes efferunt, et deferunt ad pontificem, et id offerunt illi sancte s[ep]ulture committendum.

Nihil enim est magis indignum christiana professione, in qua est certissima spes resurrectionis et glorie ad christi similitudinem, quam, paganorum more, quod iam quoque turpiter in ecclesia fere ubique faciunt, maxime vero in Italia, ubi viri in amicorum et propinquorum funeribus muliebres eiulatus fedissime edunt; tantis lachrimis deflere mortuos quasi

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1 celis] BL, SP gap of two spaces following "cel-"] L celis **9** BL, L ipsa] SP ipsam **13** sepulture] BL, SP: gap of two spaces in "s__ulture"] L sepulturae

shall neither marry, nor be married, but will be as [are] the angels of God in heaven."[398] Sustained by that hope, the good, who have lived a holy life in Christ here, die willingly and joyfully, in part rejoicing to have escaped the hazard of a fall, wherein they might slip if their life were extended longer, in part (or mostly) rejoicing, looking toward the reward for fully executed labors and the Christian soldier's crown of glory, which is without doubt legitimately saved for those in battle.[399] And with regard to the fortunate departure and death of those holy ones, friends and neighbors vigorously rejoice and simultaneously give thanks, and they long for the same fulfillment of life in Christ for themselves, so that, having kept to the path of righteousness even unto death they may exchange in that death a temporal and distressful life for a happy and eternal one and live without end in Christ.[400] Rejoicing at that hope in him who has died and wholly persuaded that he has journeyed to Christ, they carry out the corpse for burial, exulting, and they bring [the body] over to the pontifex, and they present it to him to be committed to a holy burial.

Nothing is more unworthy of the Christian profession, wherein exists a most certain hope of resurrection and of glory in the image of Christ, than the pagans' custom that they in the church basely perform now nearly everywhere, most especially in Italy, where at the funerals of friends and neighbors men give birth most abominaby to feminine wailings;[401] there

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[398] Mk 12:25: "In resurrectione ergo cum resurrexerint, cujus de his erit uxor? septem enim habuerunt eam uxorem. Et respondens Jesus, ait illis: Nonne ideo erratis, non scientes Scripturas, neque virtutem Dei? Cum enim a mortuis resurrexerint, neque nubent, neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli in cælis."

[399] Colet's references in this paragraph to spiritual battle, along with emphases upon continual striving, spiritual interpretation, and the human triad of body-soul-spirit, are inspired by Dionysius's vague references to the "sacred contest," effort, and struggle of life (DEH 7. 1. 1, [PG 3. 553A]), and they more strongly evoke the figures and language of Erasmus, particularly in *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1503), composed during or shortly after Erasmus's contact with England and English clerics including Colet. The *Enchiridion* emphasizes the greater risk that pertains to the soul than the body of the Christian soldier and notes the eternal reward that motivates this war: "Profecto non tripodos, aut mulos, qualia apud Homerum Achilles, apud Maronem Aeneas, sed neque oculus vidit, neque auris audiuit, neque in cors hominis ascenderunt, et haec quidem interim ueluti laborum solatia impertit adhuc dimicantibus, Quid deinde? foelicem immortalitatem" (ed. Argentoratum: Morhardus, 1522, A2^{v}).

[400] On the joy of the dying at the prospect of a reward for a good life and anticipation of heavenly existence, see DEH 7.1.1 (PG 3. 553B) and 7.1.6 (PG 3. 556B). Concerning the relief of the dying from fear of falling into new sin, Colet alludes to Dionysius's passing comment in 7. 1. 2 (PG 3. 533D).

[401] ejalatus>rare usage.

nobis esset opinio cum illis male actum esse et non cum christo beatissime vivere. Sed est is mos eorum tantum proculdubio, qui sic vixerint vita hic christi vite tam dissimili, ut conscientia perdite vite, non habeant apud illum quod expectent. Unde merentur valde, et dolent se hinc decessuros vel desperantes futuram vitam vel expectantes eternam miseriam. Quos ad hunc modum alloquitur Paulus in sua epistola ad Tessalonicenses: Nolite, inquit, fratres, ignorare de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus quod Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et deus eos qui dormierunt per Iesum | adducet m4v cum eo. Quod quidem mali christiani desperant desperantesque miseri moriuntur. Boni autem multis de causis letabundi obeunt mortem; et quod tedet eos huius turbulente et erumnose vite et securitatem velint, et requiem cupiunt et cum christo esse desiderant; id quod Paulus in se dixit. Cupio dissolvi et esse cum christo. Item Ignatius ille fortissimus martir: Amor meus, solitus est dicere, crucifixus est; christum significans, cum

9 SP, L dormierunt] BL domierunt **14** SP, L dixit] BL dixt

is weeping for those who have died with so many tears that our opinion about them must almost be [their] having acted badly and not [now] living most holily with Christ.[402] But no doubt it is a custom only of those kind of persons who thus have lived here a life so dissimilar to Christ's life, that as a result, because of their awareness of the life that they wasted, they do not have anything to look forward to in his presence. And from this situation they are lamented over very much, and they themselves are grieved that they are going to depart from here either devoid of hope of future life or awaiting eternal misery. Paul speaks thus to those [mourners] in the letter to the Thessalonians: "Do not, my brethren, he says, be ignorant concerning those who fall asleep, so that you may not be saddened like the others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again; even so them who have slept through Jesus, will God bring with him."[403] And this indeed bad Christians despair of, and, despairing, die in misery. To the contrary, good [Christians] meet death rejoicing much for many reasons; because this turbulent and distressful life wearies them, and they rather want security, and desire peace and long to be with Christ; just as Paul said about himself: I have "a desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."[404] That most courageous martyr Ignatius [wrote] likewise: "My love," he was accustomed to say, "is crucified," meaning

[402] This brief digression and brief returns to it below, as at DEH 7, seem to be Colet's only reference to cultural practices in contemporary Italy. Although writers like Ascham later made famous their English disdain for Italianate passion, complicated by the reformation of the English church, Colet's earlier views may have been shaped by encounters with Italian culture during his stay in Italy and by the growing influx of Italian clerics, humanists, and craftsmen into England under Henry VII. Though an enthusiast of Venice as well as an experienced diplomat to Italy, Richard Pace, Colet's successor as Dean of St. Paul's, was similarly familiar with and suspicious of Italians, having unsuccessfully prosecuted in Rome the case against Silvestro Gigli, the non-resident Bishop of Worcester, for the suspected poisoning and murder of Pace's benefactor, Cardinal Christopher Bainbridge, who had died unexpectedly in 1514 while in Italy (George B. Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy* [Stanford: Stanford UP, 1954], 472–473; William E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protector of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* [Cambridge: UP, 1974], 49–52; D.S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome, 1509–1514* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1965], 135–139). Lupton (CEH 138 n. 1) cites the inverse case of Polydore Vergil, who commented in *De rerum inventoribus* on the unusual restraint of English funerals.

[403] 1 Thes 4:13–14: "Nolumus autem vos ignorare fratres de dormientibus, ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri, qui spem non habent. Si enim credimus quod Jesus mortuus est, et resurrexit: ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Jesum, adducet cum eo."

[404] Phil 1:23: "desiderium habens dissolvi, et esse cum Christo."

quo in celo esse cupiebat. Deliramenta, que nata sunt hominibus eciam post christum ex ascultacione philosophorum, que Dionysius commemorat, a magnanimis christianis et meliora sperantibus longe repudianda sunt – videlicet, vel animas interire cum corporibus, vel superesse sed corpora non resumpturas, vel superstites migrare in alia corpora, vel in campis nescio quibus elysiis, omni amenitate et iucunditate plenis degere.

2 SP, L Dionysius] BL Dionisius

Christ, with whom he desired to be in heaven.[405] High-minded Christians and those with far better hope must still repudiate the nonsensical ideas that men have given birth to even after Christ by listening to philosophers–[the ideas] Dionysius mentions—that is, souls dying with bodies, or continuing to exist but not resurrected with the body, or surviving to migrate to another body, or passing time in some 'Elysian' fields, filled with every amenity and pleasure.[406] The clarity of Christ has

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[405] *Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans* 7: "I am alive while I write to you, yet I am eager to die. My love has been crucified, and there is no fire in me desiring to be fed; but there is within me a water that liveth and speaketh, saying to me inwardly, Come to the Father" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols. tr. Schaff, *Christian Classics Ethereal Library*). Lupton (CEH 139, n. 1) observes that Dionysius refers to the same passage in DN, 4.1, a passage of interest for a number of reasons, including 1) Dionysius's assertion that some writers, such as Ignatius, considered "yearning" (ἔρος) more divine than "love" (ἀγάπη), 2) Dionysius's reference to Ignatius (d. ca. 107), wherein the pseudonymous persona as Paul's disciple is momentarily dropped (see Rorem's note in Luibheid tr. 81 n. 153), and 3) Colet's identification of Ignatius's "love" ("amor" in Latin versions) with Christ builds upon Dionysius's rather ambiguous reference to the passage and, as Lupton notes, seems to deviate from Ignatius's context, where the word seems more likely to refer to the writer's passion (CEH 139 n. 1). Lochman in "*Divus Dionysius*: Authority, Self, and Society in John Colet's Reading of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*" argues that Colet should have known arguments against the identity of the Dionysius in Acts as author of the *Hierarchies*; William Grocyn and Erasmus, preceded by Lorenzo Valla, had come to doubt that authority. Colet seems to have never wavered in his opinion, leading to the conclusion that one of his chief aims in taking up DEH seems to have been using the authority of the writer of the DCH—routinely used to support the idea of the Roman ecclesiology—to demonstrate how far the early modern church had declined from that of DEH, a work that in contrast to DCH and DN had received little attention from previous commentators (see the Introduction).

[406] After inserting the digression on the proper bearing of those reacting to someone's death, Colet summarizes in a single sentence Dionysius's views in DEH 7.1.2 (PG 3 553B–C). Lupton (CEH 139 n. 2) summarizes the erroneous views of the soul that Dionysius names: 1) the mortality of the soul, 2) Platonic separation of the immortal soul at death from its temporary residence in the body, 3) transmigration of souls, and 4) the soul's continuation in an earthly paradise of the sort Colet terms Elysian Fields. A similar aversion to philosophers is displayed prominently in CCC 10, where, in commenting on 1 Cor 10:20–21, he describes the closed (i.e., Mosaic law), uncovered (Christian scriptures), and demonic (pagan wisdom, specifically that of philosophers) dishes at a banquet (cf. a similar discussion of bowls and dishes in relation to Christians' appropriate wisdom in Letter 9. 3–4 [PG 3.1109B–1112B]). Among others, Gleason emphasizes the exclusive warrant Colet accords to Christian scriptures relative to other sources, citing the passage in the commentaries on 1 Corinthians and a similar indictment of philosophers in ExR 203, 210. Without ignoring the unusual vehemence of Colet's indictment of pagan authors, one may note that Colet, More, and sometimes Erasmus express an animus against traditional philosophy, particularly scholasticism, and generally devalue non-Christian philosophy relative to Christian authority. In the *Enchiridion*, for instance, Erasmus writes, "Hanc tu contempta seculi sapientia amplectere, quae mendacissimo titulo sese uenditat stultis, cum, iuxta

Omnes has nebulosas opinatiunculas claritas Christi longe discussit et veritatem credendam aperuit.

[VII.2]

[S]acerdotis si sit quod mortuum est cadaver, ante altare locetur, interea
m5r dum exequie fu-|nebreque officium agitur. Sin sit ex plebeo genere, dum
inferie sacraque mortuorum fiunt, statuatur dimortui corpus ante sacrarium, eo loci ubi est plebis stare in medio omnium, ut dei sacramenta universi conspectent. Sacrarium autem sive sanctuarium sceptum est illud quod cancellis secernitur, et sacerdotium separat a plebe, in quo chorus sacerdotum sacra officia celebrat, qui locus a nostris quoque iam chorus vocitatur.

Cantus graciarumque actio a sacerdotio incipit. Recitantur a ministris quae resurrectionis confirment. In dimortuos laus dicitur, si prius

4 BL, L Sacerdotis] SP: Sacerdote, with -te as superscript **6** SP, L corpus] BL corpus corpus **7** BL, SP loci] L loco **13** L quae] BL, SP quem

Paulum, nulla uerior sit stultitia apud deum, quam terrena sapientia, dediscenda ei qui uere cupiat sapere" (C1^{v}). Aware of the relations of Dionysius as a Greek to Platonic tradition, Colet's interest in Dionysius seems related to the connection in Dionysius between Paul as a virtual apostle and the Neoplatonic philosophical tradition Dionysius represents; Colet's principal focus on Christ appears clearly in the following sentence, which punctuates the summary of Dionysius.

completely dispersed all these cloudly, small-minded opinions and has unveiled the truth to be believed.

Chapter 7.2 On the Rites of the Death

If the body of one who has died is a priest's, it is to be situated before the altar, at the same time the funeral procession and funeral rite [are] begun. If, however, it is from the common people, while the sacrifices in honor of the deceased and the rites of the dead are taking place, the corpse of the deceased should be set before the sacristy,[407] in that place where the people stand, in the midst of all, so that the whole assembly may gaze as one upon God's sacraments. Moreover the screen[408] of the sacristy or sanctuary is that which is set apart by the chancel, and it separates the priesthood from the people, wherein a choir of priests celebrates the holy rites, which place we in our time still call the choir.

One of sacerdotal office initiates songs and an act of thanksgiving.[409] Ministers recite [those texts], to give assurance of the resurrection.

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[407] sacrarium>Latham, Ramminger, typically referring to a separate room for storing vessels. In the next sentence, Colet seems to identify the "sacraria" or sacristy as the sanctuary, apparently in his mind forming the area around the high altar, extending out to include the choir (thus constituting the chancel) before leading to the nave beyond the chancel (or rood) screen. The deceased layman therefore is to be set directly between the clerical hierarchy (spiritual) and unconsecrated laity (terrestrial), an architectural symbolism evident also in William Durandus of Mende's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* I. 1, especially I. 1. 31: "Cancelli uero quibus altare a choro diuiditur separationem celestium significant a terrenis." Colet's interest in comparative liturgies extends in this instance to ecclesiastical architecture. Depending upon CEH's date of composition, this interest may be related to his interest in the precints of old St. Paul's Cathedral. DEH 7. 2. 1, like TEH (41^{v}), vaguely situates the body before the sanctuary, at the "entrance reserved for the clergy"; unlike DEH and TEH, Colet does not mention the monks, in both sources situated among the holy people.

[408] sceptum, for septum>sepes (Latham). Lupton (142) translates as "chancel rails" of a type separating the clergy from the laity, used since the time of Eusebius (n. 1). It seems plausible, however, that Colet would translate this boundary to his experience, with the separation of clergy from holy people defined by the rood screen that also separated those in the choir, typically clerics, from those farther away from the sanctuary.

[409] Dionysius (7. 2 [PG 3. 556C]) describes the officiant as one at the forefront (ἐπίπροσθεν) of the procession who recites the prayer of thanksgiving; in turn the deacons read scriptural passages about the general resurrection and sing psalms relevant to the same; in TEH (2.41^{v}) the distribution of activities is unclear, probably accounting for Colet's assignation of the singing to the priests. TEH refers to a "presul" or priest who leads the procession, whereas Colet generalizes the duty to that of any priest.

archidiaconus cathecuminos eiecerit. Ille quoque mortuus modo in christo beatus predicatur. Ab archidiacono qui adsunt omnes admonentur ut curent in christo bene moriantur. Pontifex in demortuum prope, quasi ad aurem se admonens, bene precatur et orat, commendatque illum deo salutat cum suis et tota ecclesia; in eum oleum infundit. Quum sic parentatum fuerit rite et iusta facta, reliquie tum sepulture inter alios sui ordinis sanctos commendantur.

In hac parentatione nihil est nisi spes leticia gaudium et congratulatio
m5v de mortuo in christo Iesu, quod creditur inisse in cet[er]um sanctorum |
et in vitam beatiorem in celis, ubi christo suo fruetur feliciter evo sempiterno.

[VII.3]

[S]ed iam quid velint sacra ceremonieque mortuorum videamus. Omnis nostra actio hic in ecclesia est significatio eorum que fiunt in celis. Nam in fide fundamur, et credimus ita esse in celis ut in terris agimus divinam rerum dispensationem imitantes. Dixit Petro fide insigni, quod solveris vel ligaveris in terris solutum ligatumque fore in celis. Tota nostra vita christiana contentio est, ut deo, quam maxime fieri possit, assimilemur. Erat deus ipse factus homo quodammodo sui dissimilis. Nam, ut Paulus scribit,

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9 BL, SP inisse] L iniisse **9** ceterum] BL, SP, L cetum **10** suo] SP, L correct Meghen's "fuo," with ſ apparently crossed inadvertently **15** BL, SP divinam] L divinarum

Supposing that an archdeacon has first cast out the catechumens, a eulogy on the deceased is spoken.[410] He who has died just now in Christ is also said to be blessed. The archdeacon admonishes all present that they must take care to die well in Christ. The pontifex prays and supplicates near the deceased, at [his] ear as it were, admonishing him thoroughly; and he, with his and the whole church, pays his respects[411] and commends him to God; he pours the chrism upon him. When he will have performed the rites of the dead properly in this way and with fit actions, the remains are then committed to the protection of a sepulcher among the other saints of his rank.

In this rite of the dead there exists nothing save hope, beauty, joy, and congratulation for one who has died in Christ Jesus, since he is thought to have entered among the rest[412] of the saints and into a more blessed life in the heavens, where he enjoys his Christ happily in time sempiternal.[413]

Chapter 7.3 Spiritual Contemplation of Rites of the Dead

But now let us discern what the sacred rites and ceremonies of the dead must mean. Every one of our actions in the church here is a signification of those things that are done in heaven. For in faith we are founded, and we believe accordingly that as we, imitating the divine dispensation of things, act on earth must be in accord with things in heaven. [Jesus] told Peter, extraordinary in faith, that "whatever you loose and bind on earth will be loosed and bound in the heavens."[414] All our Christian life is a striving so that we may be assimilated to God as much as possible. God was made man, unlike himself, so to speak. For, as Paul writes, he "emptied himself,

[410] DEH (7. 2 [PG 3. 556C]) specifies that the leader of the deacons reads a litany of deceased saints and determines the one deceased as worthy of joining them; TEH (41^{v}) and still more Colet alter the naming and listing to praise of the deceased.

[411] Colet's "salutat" follows the Latin of TEH (41^{v}), neither source specifying the kiss of the deceased Dionysius assigns to the hierarch and those attending him (7. 2 [PG 3. 536D]).

[412] Cetum, apparently an unmarked elision of "ceterum," perhaps occasioned by Meghen's effort to conserve space in the last line on m5^{r}.

[413] Colet adds the comment on the joyful tone of the ceremony as a coda to his prior discussion of the fit demeanor of those attending the funerary rites.

[414] Close paraphrase of Matt 16:19: "whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven" ("quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cælis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cælis"). Cf. DEH 7. 3. 1 (PG 3. 557A), which lacks Colet's emphasis on the human need to strive to be assimilated to God.

exinanivit se formam servi accipiens, ut homines suo patri assimularet. Et quum docuit suos discipulos Iesus in monte celestem pietatem, sermonem suum hac sententia conclusit dicens Estote ergo vos perfecti sicut et pater vester celestis perfectus est. Sed in hac contentione in deum per christum, id assequitur quisque, quod dat[e] vires paciuntur. Quod scrip- 5
m6r sit a-|postolus ad Corinthios. Unusquisque proprium donum habet; alius quidem sic, alius vero sic. Pro mensura fidei sunt merita; pro racione meritorum sunt premia.

Diversitas et ordo hic in ecclesia militante imago est ordinis illius quem ecclesia triumphans est habitura in celis. Sacerdos itaque quia habetur 10
iustior laico, is mortuus dum parentatur in medio choro inter sacerdotes statuitur. Extra cancellos vero ante chorum in plebeorum regione laicus defunctus vel monachus ille sanctior inter laicos collocatur, ut hoc ordine ammoniti alium in celis sacerdotibus locum et sacratiorem multo quam laico datum esse credimus, quum hic ordo in ecclesia ex supracelesti illo 15
ordine dirivatur apostolis divino spiritu preditis rite et celitus disponentibus omnia, qui a spiritu paraclito omnem veritatem didicerunt. Dei virtute electi in christianum exercitum pugnamus vincimus evadimus morimur iusti cum christo, iustorum gloriam accepturi quisque pro racione iusticie sue. 20

De iusto mortuo gaudet ecclesia, et cum festivali pompa victorem defunctum certa spe deo tradunt coronandum.

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1 L assimularet] BL, SP assimilaret **5** date] BL, SP gap of one space after "dat-"] L datae **9** L quem] BL, SP que **16** L dirivatur] BL, SP dirivatum **19** BL, SP cum] L in

taking the form of a servant,"[415] so men may be assimilated to his father. And when Jesus on the mount taught his disciples heavenly piety, he ended his sermon with this sentence, saying "Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect."[416] But in this striving for God through Christ, each obtains what his given powers allow. As the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, "every one hath his proper gift from God; one after this manner, and another after that."[417] So [gifts] are merited according to the measure of faith; rewards exist according to a system of merits.[418]

The diversity and order in the church militant here is an image of the order the church triumphant will have in the heavens. Therefore, because the priest is considered more just than a layman, having died, while he is being honored by a solemn rite, he is situated in the middle choir among priests. However, the deceased layman or that holier monk is placed outside the chancel, in front of the choir, in the area of the people, since, I think, this arrangement gives a reminder of another place for priests in the heavens, much more sacred than that given to the laity—since the order here in the church is derived from that supercelestial order, with the apostles, endowed with the divine spirit, arranging everything fitly and from the heavens, who learned every truth from the spirit, the paraclete.[419] Elect by virtue of God, we fight, conquer, escape, die having been made just with Christ, each to receive one day the glory of the just according to the principle of [God's] justice.

The church rejoices for one who has died a just man, and with a festive procession in firm hope they consign the deceased victor to God to be crowned.[420]

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[415] Phil 2:7: "exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus."

[416] Matt 5:48: "Estote ergo vos perfecti, sicut et Pater vester cælestis perfectus est."

[417] 1 Cor 7:7: "unusquisque proprium donum habet ex Deo: alius quidem sic, alius vero sic." See on this passage CCC 7. 146.

[418] See DEH 7. 3. 1 (PG 3. 557A) regarding the proportionality of God's rewards according to merit.

[419] The word παράκλητος bears the literal sense of "a comforter," "one who consoles"—a sense that Colet may have in mind in this section on funerary rites, in addition to the word's more usual uses: referring to the Christian idea of the paraclete as a πνεῦμα, with the physiological sense of pneuma as spirit or breath (see n. 441 above) and the epithet for the Holy Spirit. See John 14:16, 14:26, 15:26, 16:7 where it may be translated in English as "counselor," "helper," or "comforter" even though in Acts the paraclete seems one with the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:5, 1:8, 2:4, 2:38). 1 John 2:1 and John 14:16 suggest that "paraclete" can refer to Jesus.

[420] Festivali pompa> ecclesiastical usage in Latham, originally applied to funeral processions of Roman lictors, the attendants of Roman magistrates.

m6v Que canit ecclesia in sacris mortuorum cantica leti-|cie sunt ad consolationem et exhortacionem vivorum, ut ii, sperantes mortuum migrasse ad deum, parem sibi exitum exoptent, ut sibi gloria et ecclesie gaudium esse possit. Fletus vero, lachrime, eiulatus, feditas est in ecclesia et eorum plane hominum, qui gloriam christi resurgentis ex mortuis iustis post mortem fore parum credunt. Quod si credidissent Iesum christum, quia iustus mortuus est, gloriosum resurrexisse – exemplum resurrectionis iustorum – et ad eandem formam in illo per potentiam dei omnes iustos resurrecturos, sine dubio amicorum mortem tam miserabiliter non lugerent. Quoniam preciosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius, mors autem peccatorum pessima, quocirca si quid dolendum esset profecto de iniustorum morte dolendum esset, quoniam cum illis pessime agitur, quorum vermis non extinguetur. Verum in christiana ecclesia, que est fide et spe magnanima in deo, nihil turpius et dedecore plenius quam mortuorum, saltem quos cognoverunt non iniustos fuisse in christo, defletio.

Ecclesia in iustis mortuorum decantat laudes; gratulatur demortuo; ex scripturis spem resurrectionis iucundam profert; in presenti commodo m7r amici et fratris, quod sancta morte liberatur a | malis letatur. In spe futuri boni iustis exultat. Electa sapiens pia in christo ecclesia hec facit, ut ostendat christianis hominibus iucundiorem diem nullum esse posse quam eum in quo iustus aliquis moritur, maxime si pro iusticia eciam vim paciens moriatur. Illi homini tanta erit gloria, ut tota ecclesia pre leticia exultet. Iesus, quum sua sanctissima mors instaret, de ea suos discipulos ita alloquutus est, ut Ioannes refert: Audistis quod dixi vobis: vado et venio ad vos. Et quia vidit eos mestos addidit: Si diligeretis me gauderetis, utique quia vado ad patrem. Ut illi de Iesu morte gauderent, ita et tota ecclesia et singulus quisque in ea gaudeat de iusto homine commortuo cum christo in gloriam, ut officium christiane pietatis videatur prestitisse, utque

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2 SP: superscript "et" **14** SP, L omit "est" **17** BL, SP demortuo] L de mortuo **25** BL, SP quod] L quia (following the Vulgate, John 14:28)

Those songs of joy that the church sings during the sacred rites of the dead are for the consolation and encouragement of the living so that they, hoping that the deceased has flown to God, might long for the same departure for themselves, that there can be glory for them and joy for the church. Indeed in the church there exist wailing, tears, lamenting, foulness among those lowly men who too little believe in the future existence of the glory of Christ's resurrection from death, for the just after death. Yet had they believed that Jesus Christ had risen glorious because he died just—an example for the resurrection of those who are just—and that all the just will rise to that same form in him by the power of God, they certainly would not mourn so miserably the death of friends. Since "precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints,"[421] but the death of sinners is the worst; therefore, if any grieving were obliged to happen, it would assuredly be due to the death of the unjust, since it goes badly with those whose serpent[422] will not be destroyed. But in the Christian church, which exists in faith and high-minded hope in God, nothing is more deformed and more completely shameful than violent weeping for those who have died in Christ, at least for those recognized as not unjust.

For the just the church sings praises of the deceased; it expresses joy for the deceased; it makes known from scriptures the pleasing hope of resurrection since he is liberated from every evil by a holy death. It leaps up in hope for what is to come to the just [who are] good. The elect, wise, devout church in Christ does this to show Christian men [that] a happier day can be none other than one wherein someone [who is] just dies, especially if, suffering violence, he should die for justice. That man's glory will be so great that the whole church should exult for joy. When his holiest death approached, Jesus consoled his disciples concerning it in this way, as John reports: "You have heard that I said to you: I go away, and I come unto you." And, since he saw them grow sad, he added, "If you loved me, you would indeed be glad, because I go to the Father."[423] Just as those were to have rejoiced in the death of Jesus, so both the whole church and each individual in it should rejoice for the just man, having died with Christ unto glory, the more he may be seen to have excelled in the office

421 Ps 116:15: "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus."

422 Vermis. Latham cites the word as a cognomen for Satan, but Colet seems to speak of a personal "serpent" within the unjust deceased.

423 John 14:28: "Audistis quia ego dixi vobis: Vado, et venio ad vos. Si diligeretis me, gauderetis utique, quia vado ad Patrem." Colet adds the reaction of the apostles and the consolatory tenor of Jesus's reply.

fratrem demortuum eciam dilexisse videatur. Gaudeat, inquam, quisque de fratris commodo in morte, et illi valde gratuletur; alioquin non fratris in christo speranter sed sui ipsius et in mundo desperanter amicus et amator iudicetur.

Quod autem cathecumini a sacris funeribus propulsantur et abiguntur, est id quidem quod ii sine regenerationis lumine, quod in baptismate
m7v a deo ministrantibus sacerdotibus datur, | sunt, et ceci adhuc ut mysteriorum spectacula inspicere nequeant. Alii autem, qui illuminati fuerint et se sua ipsorum improbitate obcecaverunt apostate et penitentes; item energumini, qui adhuc molliores, malignas diaboli agitaciones ferre non possunt, quanquam aliis sacris non sinuntur interesse, parentacionibus tamen et iustis interesse possunt, ut ecclesie officio et spe future vite quam cernant in sacris mortuorum commoveantur, ut resipiscentes futuram vitam desiderent.

Est preterea, uti diximus, in ceremoniis et sacris mortuorum, ut pontifex in funere prope feretrum oret pro mortuo et eum quasi sensum habentem salutet: omnes deinde reliqui cons[a]lutent. Orat autem deum ut, si que sint peccata in que ille vivus humana imbecillitate inciderit, ut id ei ignoscat et misericors veniam det recipiatque in luculentam illam suam regionem vivorum, ut feliciter in patriarcharum sinubus conquiescat, ubi est leticia et gloria sempiterna et ea quoque tanta et tam solida, ut Paulus asserat ad Corintheos scribens nec oculum vidisse nec audivisse

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5 SP, L funeribus] BL funebribus **13** BL, SP commoveantur] L commoneantur **16** BL, SP sensum] L sensu **17** consalutent] BL gap of one space in cons_lutent] SP consultent] L consalutent, citing SP in note **19** BL ignoscat] SP, L agnoscat **20** BL, SP, L sinubus; BL shows a macron with superscript of three vertical scores over first "u"

of Christian piety, the more they may be seen to have loved a departed brother. Every one, I say, ought to rejoice at the advantage in the death of the brother and give thanks vehemently for him; otherwise, he may not be judged a friend and lover of the brother in Christ in a hopeful way but of himself, despairingly in the world.[424]

Moreover, that the catechumens are driven out and banished from sacred funerals is surely because they lack the light of regeneration given in baptism by God to ministering priests, with the result that, still being blind, they may not observe the spectacle of the sacred rites. Nevertheless, others who have been illumined, the apostates and penitents, have blinded themselves with their own depravity; likewise the energumens, who, still weaker, are unable to bear the evil stirrings of the devil, although they are not allowed to be present at other sacred rites, are able to attend celebrations of the just who have died, so that they may be moved by the church's office and by hope of a life to come, which they discern in the rites of the dead, so that, recovering their senses, they may desire the life to come.[425]

In addition, as we have said, with regard to the ceremonies and sacred rites of the dead, one finds that, during the funeral, the pontifex is to pray for the deceased near the bier and greet him as though [still] possessed of sense; thereafter, all should take leave of the remains. But he prays to God that, if there should exist in [the deceased] any sins wherein he had fallen in life due to human weakness,[426] [God] may forgive him for it and, being merciful, grant pardon and return [him] to that, his shining region of the living so that he may rest among the bosoms of the patriarchs, where there is joy and glory sempiternal and that so great and complete that Paul, writing to the Corinthians, asserts [that] neither eye can have seen, nor ear have heard, nor have entered into the heart of man the things God has

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[424] Colet follows DEH 7. 3. 2 (PG 3. 557B) in referring to songs and readings at funerary rites, but he develops Dionysius's brief mention by returning to the subject of joyful expressions of the church's expectation of the salvation of the just and by reiterating the corollary that lack of joy at the death of the just hints at doubts about the virtue of the deceased and reveals the mourner's lack of confidence in God's promise.

[425] DEH 7. 3. 3 (PG 3. 557C–560A) provides a lengthier explanation for dismissing catechumens from funeral rites and for allowing participation by other initiates.

[426] Imbecillitate. See DEH 7. 3. 4 (PG 3. 560A) and n. 281. TEH uses "infirmitantem humanam" (42^{v}); Colet's choice is consistent with his usage for weak men elsewhere and in the *Disputaticuncula*. Lochman, "Colet and Erasmus: The *Disputatiuncula* and the Controversy of Letter and Spirit" 80–81.

aurem nec in cor hominis ascendisse que preparavit deus diligentibus se. O quanta voluptas erit quanque exultans delectatio illis filiis hominis,
m8r bo-|ne deus, qui speraverunt in tegmine alarum tuarum, ut cecinit regius propheta tuus David: Inebriabuntur [ab] ubertate domus tue; et torrente voluptatis tue potabis eos. Quoniam apud te est fons vite; et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen: Dominus ipse, ut in alio psalmo est, spes nostra est et porcio nostra in terra viventium.

Sed rogat quispiam: quidnam opus sit ut pro defuncto oretur? Nam de eo actum est vel in bonam vel in malam partem. Etenim ex vite

2 BL quanque] SP, L quamquam

prepared for those loving him.[427] O how great the delight will be and how exceedingly joyful the pleasure of those sons of man, dear God, who have waited "under the covert of thy wings," as your prophet and king David has sung![428] "They shall be inebriated with the plenty of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of thy pleasure. For with thee is the fountain of life; and in thy light we shall see light,"[429] since as it is in another psalm, the Lord himself is our hope and our portion "in the land of the living."[430]

But someone asks: why should it be necessary to pray for the deceased?[431] For regarding the [dead] it is all over on either the good or

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[427] Near quotation of 1 Cor 2:9: "Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparavit Deus iis qui diligunt illum." Colet omits Dionysius's OT and NT references (included in Traversarius's translation) to the paradisical bosom of the patriarchs (Pss 142:5 [cited below by Colet], 56:13, 114:9; Lk 16:22, Matt 8:11, Lk 13:28; Is 35:10, 51:11), these said to be included in the hierarch's funerary prayer and joined in DEH to the verse Colet cites from 1 Corinthians as "this divine inheritance and this perfect beatitude where all those who have lived in conformity with God are welcomed into the ever-renewed perfection of unaging blessedness" (7. 3. 5 [PG 3. 560B–C]). As elsewhere, Colet cites Paul, presumably as Dionysius's teacher, to confirm Dionysius's point.

[428] Ps 36:7: "Filii autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt."

[429] Ps 36:9–10: "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ, et torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos; quoniam apud te est fons vitæ, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen."

[430] Ps 142:5: "Clamavi ad te, Domine; dixi: Tu es spes mea, portio mea in terra viventium."

[431] Colet compresses the objection Dionysius frames (7. 3. 6 [PG 3. 560C]) concerning the efficacy of intercessory prayer for the deceased: "While agreeing with what I am saying you might nevertheless declare yourself unable to understand why it is that the hierarch beseeches the divine goodness to pardon the sins of the deceased and to grant him the same order and the same lot as those who have lived in conformity with God. If under the workings of divine justice each one receives a return for whatever good or bad he did in this life and if it is the case that the deceased has terminated his lifetime activity, then by what prayer could the hierarch win for the dead person such a change of condition that it would be different from what he had earned during his life here?" (Luibheid tr. 254). According to both Lupton (L 145) and Rorem (*Pseudo-Dionysius* 115), Dionysius's response is that the prayer declares or proclaims rather than intercedes; however, the matter is more complex in that the prayer of the hierarch is an act of mediation, which in the Dionysian and Platonic schemes involves participation. The invocation of God's mercy for the deceased, while not offered for the salvation of one who died in an unholy state, serves through its mediation also to fulfill God's promise of the participation of the blessed in the divine promises (see DEH 7. 3. 6–7 [PG 3. 561C–564B]). Lupton, the Victorian Protestant, notes that "it need hardly be said" that Dionysius could not have known the doctrine of purgatory (145 n. 1), an idea that had come into existence only in the late twelfth century, even if elements of the teaching appeared in the primitive church (Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001], 265 n. 11, citing Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* [tr. Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981], 135). Assailed by Lollards, the doctrine of purgatory, with its "system of indulgences and pardons meant to relieve the sufferings of

meritis iusto dei iudicio aut sursum aut deorsum tendit. Post mortem nullus cuique est locus promerendi. Dionysius illi respondens primum significat oracionem non prodesse cuiquam nec vivo nec mortuo quidem, nisi et digno et eciam a digno. Qui oret dignus sanctus est. Dignus pro quo oretur is est solum qui velit et omnem det operam ille imprimis, ut sanctus sit quique agnoscens suam indignitatem veretur precibus divinam maiestatem adire, et in illius conspectu, nisi intercedat quem arbitratur plus apud deum, qui simul cum eo supplicet, apparere; quique postremo humilime querit sibi ex primariis ordinibus in ecclesia unum, qui inter deum et se
m8v medius sit; cuius fretus suffragio et comprecatione adiutus | ipse simul cum illo maxime et intentissime deprecans tandem exaudiatur. Hac via et modo inita oracio res est omnium potentissima et efficacissima sane, ut, si incessanter cum spe pergat humilis flagitatio, salvatoris ipsius doctrina in exemplo illius, qui petiit panes media nocte; et illius muliercule que postulavit sententiam ab iniquo iudice, non potest certe non exaudiri. Quod si quispiam negligat suam causam et frigeat ipse intime in salute sua ac ex more ut solitus erat male vivat, non incipiens et agens ipse imprimens ut

5 det] BL, SP, L dat **5** SP, L ille] BL ipse **8** L inserts "[valere]" after "deum"; absent in BL, SP **14** que] L quae] BL, SP qui **17** BL, SP imprimens] L imprimis (L cites MS [260n])

souls" also proved an easy target for reformers bent on attacking a system that, in the words even of Cardinal William Allen, had become associated with the institutional Church and its material structures: according to Allen, "this doctrine … founded all Bishoprics, builded all Churches, raised all Oratories, instituted all Colleges, endowed all Schools, maintained all hospitals, set forward all works of charity and religion, of what sort soever they be" (qtd. from *A Defense and Declaration of the Catholike Churches Doctrine, touching Purgatory* [Antwerp, 1566], fol. 215^{v}], Greenblatt 13). Although Colet's Convocation Sermon does not specifically address the material profit accruing to the church as the result of intercessory prayers for those in purgatory, Colet speaks of "monkes, chanons, and religious men" who are "nat to turmoile them selfe in busyness, nother secular nor other," for the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE) had limited their lives to "prayer and fastyng, and to the chastynge of their fleshe, and obseruyng of theyr rules" (Lupton, *A Life* 301). Colet usually excludes explicit comparison to practices in the contemporary church, but his attention to Dionysius's description of the proper use of non-intercessory prayer in the funeral rite may itself be significant, especially in light of his repeated efforts to reign in the behaviors of the chantry priests and minor clergy at St. Paul's, in part due to their concern for revenues (Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 77, 65–87, 157–177).

evil side. Moreover, due to the merits of a life he tends either up or down according to God's just judgment. After death no place exists for anyone to gain merit.[432] Responding to this, Dionysius first indicates that prayer is not useful for anyone, living or dead, unless [it is] both for the deserving and by the deserving. He who may pray is worthy, a saint. The one worthy to be prayed for is he alone who would particularly desire and make every effort first of all that, whoever it may be, perceiving his unworthiness, would fear to approach the divine majesty with prayers and appear in his sight unless someone whom he thinks is nearer to God intercede; and [this penitent] finally, humbly seeks for himself someone from the first ranks in the church who may be able to mediate between God and himself; and, having trusted his judgment and having been assisted with co-praying, he is at last heard praying clearly and most eagerly along with that [other] one. Begun in this way and manner, prayer is the most powerful and to be sure most affecting thing of all, with the result that if the humble, earnest entreaty proceeds unceasingly with hope, it certainly must be heard favorably, according to the teaching of the savior himself, in the example of one who sought bread in the middle of the night[433] and of the widow who demanded a judgment from an unjust judge.[434] Yet should anyone ignore his own case and grow cold inwardly about his salvation and live badly due to conduct become habitual, not undertaking

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[432] DEH 7. 3. 6 (PG 3. 561A): "the prayers of the just are of use only to those who are worthy of them, and only in this life, not after death"; it would be "foolish to cling to the impossible and empty hope of gaining the intercession of the saints when one has driven aside their naturally sacred activities by one's refusal to accept the gifts of God and by contempt for the most lustrous of God's good commandments."

[433] Lk 11:5–8: "Et ait ad illos: Quis vestrum habebit amicum, et ibit ad illum media nocte, et dicet illi: Amice, commoda mihi tres panes, quoniam amicus meus venit de via ad me, et non habeo quod ponam ante illum, et ille de intus respondens dicat: Noli mihi molestus esse, jam ostrium clausum est, et pueri mei mecum sunt in cubili: non possum surgere, et dare tibi. Et si ille perseveraverit pulsans: dico vobis, etsi non dabit illi surgens eo quod amicus ejus sit, propter improbitatem tamen ejus surget, et dabit illi quotquot habet necessarios."

[434] Lk 18:1–7: "Dicebat autem et parabolam ad illos, quoniam oportet semper orare et non deficere, dicens: Judex quidam erat in quadam civitate, qui Deum non timebat, et hominem non reverebatur. Vidua autem quædam erat in civitate illa, et veniebat ad eum, dicens: Vindica me de adversario meo. Et nolebat per multum tempus. Post hæc autem dixit intra se: Etsi Deum non timeo, nec hominem revereor: tamen quia molesta est mihi hæc vidua, vindicabo illam, ne in novissimo veniens sugillet me. Ait autem Dominus: Audite quid judex iniquitatis dicit: Deus autem non faciet vindictam electorum suorum clamantium ad se die ac nocte, et patientiam habebit in illis?"

cum deo in graciam redeat, sed mandat aliis – uti nunc mos est secularium hominum data exigua stipe – ut pro se orent, habens spem in aliorum oracionibus se salvum esse posse, is profecto in his est qui sunt indigni ut pro eis oretur. Et ipse quoque homo est unus omnium stultissimus, qui putat in sua negligentia aliorum diligentiam sibi prodesse posse, seque per alios salvum fore, qui nihil curat ipse ut salvus sit, qui perinde agit ac ille egrotus aliquis, qui luxuriose vivens velit a medico curari; et, ut Dionysii exemplo utar, qui aliquis erutis sibi oculis velit solem intueri. Desipit ille insane qui nihil ipse agens quum potest, aliorum externa actione putat
nir se utilitatem adipisci posse, | quique redire in graciam cum eo principe
a quo alienatus erat confidit per aliorum operam, quum ipse nihil agit cur graciam sibi principis reconciliet. Si qui ergo sint tales, qui non ipsi imprimis et maxime agunt ut bene cum eis fiat, ii in numero eorum sunt quibus oracio nihil prodest, quique indigni sunt ut pro eis oretur. Qui vero agunt ipsi omnibus viribus ut salvi fiant talibus sanctorum oracio non potest non maxime prodesse. Huic sententie subscribit Ioannes apostolus in epistola canonica dicens, Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem petat et dabitur ei vita peccanti non ad mortem. Est peccatum

1 BL: characters following "deo" illegible due to smudge] SP, L in 5 SP: superscript "posse"

and acting, [not] imprinting[435] himself that he might return to grace with God, but instead should commit to others to pray for him, having hope in the possibility of salvation through the prayers of others—as is now the custom of secular men, with a paltry sum having been paid as an offering—he has set himself among those unworthy to pray for him. And that man himself is one of the most foolish of all, who in his negligence thinks that the diligence of others is able to be of use to him, and that he will be saved by others, who himself makes no effort at all about being saved; and he for this reason acts like someone diseased, who, living luxuriously, would wish to be cured by a physician; and who, since I will use Dionysius's example, would wish to gaze upon the sun, someone having plucked out his eyes.[436] He is madly foolish who, doing nothing for himself when he can, reckons himself able to profit from the outward action of others, and who trusts in the exertion of others to return to favor with that prince from whom he had been estranged, when he himself does nothing whereby he might recover to himself the prince's good graces. If therefore those who would be of this sort, who would not first and foremost fashion themselves so that things will go well with them, they are in the number of those for whom prayer is of no use and who are unworthy to be prayed for. But those who act on their own behalf with all their strength so that they may be saved, to such, the prayer of the saints must be most useful.[437] The apostle John subscribes to this point of view in a canonic epistle, saying, "He that knoweth his brother to sin a sin which is not to death, let him ask, and life shall be given to him, who sinneth not to death. There is a sin unto death: for that I say not that any man

[435] Lupton's substitutes "imprimis" ("first and foremost") for "imprimens," found in both MSS; however, "imprimens" conveys the sense of "impressing, stamping, marking" that Colet, following Dionysius, had earlier associated with the seal of the sacraments and "coins" struck in the image of Christ.

[436] DEH 7. 3. 6. (PG 3. 561A); TEH 42^{v}–43^{r}: "Nam profecto idem sit: ac si quis sole suos radios sanis largitere oculus sibi oculos erumpes solaris luminis particeps fieri postulet, si impossibilium superflua spe ille suspensus est." If as is likely Traversarius's translation was his principal Latin source for DEH, Colet here departs from it freely. Colet's language implies the inefficacy of prayers and practices in chantries at monasteries and cathedrals like St. Paul's for those deceased who are depraved. Chantry priests and minor canons earning bequests for the deceased Colet attempted (seemingly without success) to regulate in 1506 and 1518 (Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 66–80).

[437] Colet not only allows for intercessory prayer but offers a statement of the role of the will in salvation, in contrast to the emphasis upon human instrumentality in the following digression on the role of the hierarch.

ad mortem: non pro illo dico ut roget quis. Iuvat certe oracio orantem; non orantem vero, si possit orare, nihil iuvat. Frustra sperat, Dionysii sententia, in bonorum precibus qui ipse male vivit.

Deprecatio illa pontificis super defunctum – ut is in gloria sit – non tam est peticio ut ita fiat, quam indicatio ita esse. Est enim pontifex, ut Malachias appellat, angelus dei et interpres divine voluntatis divino spiritu agitatus. Ideo deprecatio illa est narratio ex sacro ore pontificis quid sine dubio cum iusto mortuo agitur, ut in verbis pontificis discat
n1v ecclesia quid pre-|mii est iustis qui mortui sunt in christo et pontific[i] qui pendet ex ore dei et qui habet spiritum sanctum – Accipite inquit spiritum sanctum – ex fide loquenti aliquid in ministerio dei credat, qui non ex se

6 SP: superscript "ut" **9** pontifici] BL, SP: gap of two spaces following pontific-] L pontifici **10–11** spiritum sanctum] L Spiritum sanctum] BL, SP spiritumsanctum

ask."[438] Prayer surely helps the one praying; but prayer is of no help to one not praying if he is able and does not. In the opinion of Dionysius, he who lives badly himself places hope in the prayers of the good to no purpose.

That prayer of the pontifex over the deceased—that he should be in glory—is not so much a petition that it be done, as a sign that it is so. For, moved powerfully by the divine spirit, the pontifex is God's angel and an interpreter of the divine will, as Malachi proclaims.[439] Therefore that invocation is a statement of fact from the pontifex's holy mouth, what doubtless takes place concerning a just man after he dies, so that by the words of the pontifex the church learns what there is of profit for the just who have died in Christ—and that [the church] may believe the pontifex, who hangs upon God's word and who possesses the Holy Spirit–"Receive ye, he says, the Holy Spirit,"–he who speaks not from himself but from the spirit, voicing out of faith something of the ministry of God.[440] Both

[438] 1Jn 5:14–17: "Et hæc est fiducia, quam habemus ad eum: quia quodcumque petierimus, secundum voluntatem ejus, audit nos. Et scimus quia audit nos quidquid petierimus: scimus quoniam habemus petitiones quas postulamus ab eo. Qui scit fratrem suum peccare peccatum non ad mortem, petat, et dabitur ei vita peccanti non ad mortem. Est peccatum ad mortem: non pro illo dico ut roget quis." Note that, as Colet uses it in the present context, this citation distinguishes mortal from venial sin as concerns the efficacy of prayers for the deceased, though allowing some intercessory function to prayers for those in purgatory, despite Dionysius's firmer opinion in DEH. Dionysius does not cite 1John 5 in any of his writings.

[439] Mal 2:7: "Labia enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem requirent ex ore ejus, quia angelus Domini exercituum est." This is the first of three references in CEH to this passage, all in the following digression on the proper disposition of the hierarch. Colet gives the passage far greater attention and weight than it receives in DEH. Reference to the hierarch as an angel and to Mal 2:7 also appears in DCH 12, although in CCH Colet summarizes the source without comment (12.186). In reference to the pontifex's prayer, Colet here uses "deprecatio," usually translated as "entreaty," "prayer," "request" but seemingly modified by Dionysius's context, as revealed in this and the preceding paragraph. The word does not appear in 7. 3 in TEH. The shift in this sentence from discussion of the spiritual condition of the deceased to the divine authority and mediatory powers of the authentic bishop, the pontifex, introduces a key digression via Dionysius concerning the episcopal ideal, against which Colet, following his usual deployment of demonstrative rhetorical patterns of praise and blame, sets the defective representatives of his era.

[440] Colet's reference, following Dionysius's, to Jn 20:22 hints also at the following verse and its reference to the authority of the apostolic ministry the pontifex is to sustain; Colet makes this point overt below, with reference to the verse's association with Pentecost and the formation of the apostles prior to the Ascension. Jn 20:22–23: "insufflavit, et dixit eis: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum: quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt."

loquitur sed ex spiritu. Et quod summa fide credit esse et testatur in terris – id factum est in celis, ubi prius agitur quam revelatur ut credatur.

Est ille, ut ait Dionysius, angelus et interpres voluntatis dei, et loquitur agitque omnia uti movetur a deo. Et quorum vult deus misereri, eorum pontifex in deo illius voluntatis divinator miseretur. Quorum non miseretur pontifex, argumentum spiritum dei non movere eos ut misereatur taliumque deum ipsum in celis non misereri, qui ad suam voluntatem spiritu sancto ministrum suum pontificem agit, ut quod in celo decretum est in terris pontificali officio exequatur. A celo enim et a deo dirivantur omnia; et ille est qui agit in omnibus. Et homines veri in illo sunt ministri voluntatis illius, a quo habent spiritum, ut quasi instrumenta sint actionis dei, non agant quidem ipsi aliquid, sed deus in eis agat omnia. Ad hoc post suam resurrectionem deushomo Iesus christus, ut dilectiores suos discipulos, ad quos intravit ianuis clausis et dixit | eis semel atque iterum pax n2r vobis, ut eos sibi apta instrumenta efficeret voluntatis sue; ut, quod fecerit ipse in celis, illi exequerentur in terris insufflans in eos dixit Accipite spiritum sanctum: Sicut misit me pater ego mitto vos . . . Quorum remiseritis peccata (exequentes scilicet voluntatem dei isto spiritu accepto)

4 BL, SP movetur] L monetur **6** BL, SP movere] L monere **6** L misereatur] BL, SP misereantur **14** BL, L clausis] SP clausit **16** exequerentur] BL, SP exequarentur] L exsequerentur **17** spiritum sanctum] L Spiritum sanctum] BL, SP spiritumsanctum

what he believes to be with strongest faith and what he has testified to on earth—these things have been done in the heavens, where action takes place before it is revealed to be believed.[441]

He is, as Dionysius has it, an angel and mediator of God's will, and he says and does everything as God sets him in motion. To those whom God wishes to be merciful, the pontifex, the diviner in God of his will, is merciful. Those to whom the pontifex is not merciful make the case that the Spirit of God does not move [him] to pity them, and that such [are] not pitied by God himself in the heavens, who according to his will moves the pontifex, his minister, through the holy spirit, to execute on earth by the pontifical office what has been decreed in heaven.[442] For all things have been derived from heaven and by God; and he it is who acts in all. And the true ministers of his will are men in him, by whom they possess the spirit that they may be as it were instruments of God's actions, enact nothing for themselves, but that God may enact everything in them.[443] For this [reason] after his resurrection the God-man[444] Jesus Christ made his more beloved disciples—to whom, after he came through closed doors, he said "Peace be with you"—time and again fit instruments of his will; and, breathing upon them, said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit," that they might execute on earth what had been done by him in heaven: "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you .... Whose sins you (those executing, that is, God's will through the reception of the Spirit therein) shall

[441] Colet's paraphrase of Dionysius's citation emphasizes the divine authority of the hierarch, following Jesus's assignation of the keys to the kingdom to Peter: DEH 7. 3. 7 (PG 3. 564B–C). Matt 16:19: "Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum. Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cælis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cælis." Dionysius's close identification of the hierarch with the spirit ("the hierarch obeys the Spirit which is the source of every rite and which speaks by way of his words," Luibheid tr. 256) reinforces Colet's theological emphasis in CCC 12. 238–254 upon the spirit as the source of ecclesiastical "actio" and "operatio" and as it were the "organic" life of the mystical body that permeates the hierarchy and manifests its power in "sacraments" understood in their broad sense.

[442] Colet enlarges Dionysius's discussion of God's inspiration as the authority for the hierarch to excommunicate (DEH 7. 3. 7 [PG 3. 564B–D]) to an assertion of the divine judgment of the pontifex.

[443] Using the metaphor of the mystical body, Colet elsewhere makes a similar point regarding ecclesiastical instrumentality: "Est universa ecclesia nihil aliu nisi organum et instrumentum Dei Spiritus" (CCC 12. 252; cf. 12.232; *De compositione sancti corporis Christi mystici* 188–193).

[444] See n. 257 above.

remittuntur eis; et quorum retinueritis retinentur, modo ex spiritu dato fiat et iusta dispensatione voluntatis dei: alioquin non a deo sed ab homine fit cui credendum est. Quapropter Paulus, ad Corinthios scribens, quum se et apostolos et qui talem personam gerunt dixit ministros christi et dispensatores mysteriorum dei, subiunxit e vestigio: Hic iam queritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur. Non omnes enim iusti sunt ministri: nec recte dispensant nec pendentes a deo spiritu aguntur divino; sed confisi sibi efficiunt quod volunt ipsi spiritu proprio, qui inimicus est deo. Qui vero a deo per christum electi, in ipsum sursum tracti, ex illo pendent et quasi instrumenta in manu illius. Illuc semper et in eam partem et in eum effectum sunt versa quo dirigit deus.

Qui sunt indicia et declaramenta et executores voluntatis dei et mentis illius diffinientis prius et formantis omnia: | hi certe non agunt ipsi n2v
sed deus in eis. Nec authores sunt ipsi cuiuspiam facti sed deus; qui quicquid fecerint id a deo factum esse credendum est; qui sunt sane loco dei habendi et colendi ut ipse deus – non ipsi sed deus in eis, in cuius spiritu moventur ut divinitus cogitent agant et loquantur omnia. De id genus hominibus est illud Iesu apud Lucam dictum: Qui vos audit me audit et qui vos spernit me spernit; qui autem spernit me spernit eum qui misit me, quia est deus in christo, et christus in illis qui vere sunt sui, maxime in ecclesie primariis, si illi veri sunt christi. Vultisne

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4 SP, L omit "et" following "se" **5** mysteriorum] SP, L misteriorum] BL ministeriorum, macron over first "i" **5** L e vestigio] BL, SP evestigio **7** BL, SP pendentes] L prudentes **11** BL, SP effectum] L affectum **17** BL, SP moventur] L monentur **21** BL, SP veri] L vere

forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained,"[445] provided that it is done by the Spirit which was given and through the just dispensation of God's will. Otherwise, what we must believe is effected not by God but by a man. Accordingly, Paul, writing to the Corinthians, when he described as "the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God" himself and the apostles, and those who bear such a character, added forthwith: "Here now it is required among the dispensers, that a man be found faithful."[446] For not all who are just are ministers: neither do they dispense properly, nor do they move those depending upon God through the divine spirit; but, trusting to themselves, they effect what they themselves wish through their own peculiar spirit, which is hostile to God. But those who are chosen by God through Christ, drawn upwards into him,[447] are dependent upon him and, as it were, instruments in his hand. Thither always are they turned, both toward that region and toward that result whither God guides them.

Truly those who give evidence and are the evidence and witnesses and executors of God's will and of his mind—which first defines and disposes everything—surely do not act of themselves but God [acts] in them. Nor are they authors themselves of particular acts, but God [is]; [they are] those who, whatever they may have done, it is to be believed done by God; who surely ought to be considerd as standing in God's stead and ought to be revered like God himself—not they themselves but God in them, in whose spirit they are moved to think, act, and speak all through divine inspiration. Of this type of men Jesus has spoken in Luke: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me,"[448] since God is in Christ and Christ in those who are truly his, especially in the first ranks of the church, if those of Christ are true. "Do you seek a proof," Paul asks,

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[445] Jn 20:21, 23: "Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos .... quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt."

[446] 1Cor 4:1–2: "Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi, et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei. Hic jam quæritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur."

[447] See n. 373 above on the upward force of a divine magnet, in opposition to the downward flow of Platonic emanations.

[448] Lk 10:16: "Qui vos audit, me audit: et qui vos spernit, me spernit. Qui autem me spernit, spernit eum qui misit me."

experimentum eius, inquit Paulus, qui in me loquitur christus? Hi spiritu christi agunt omnia, ut christus spiritu dei. Hi alti in deo revelatas veritates accipiunt et revelatis credunt; et quod indicatum est a spiritu dei latenter monente, cuius motus non noscunt nisi sublimes in deo id indubia fide, et agunt et dictitant. Hec est fides magnifica, qua Petrus agnovit Iesum christum filium esse dei vivi et verbis confessus est. Hec est illa fides, cui tantam potestatem tribuit deus, ut quodcunque ligaverit in terris idem erit ligatum in celis; et quod solverit in terris solutum erit idem in celis. Ligata
n3r sunt autem proculdubio antea in celis | quam ligentur omnia et solvuntur illic prius que hic deinde solvantur. Non enim deus ex hominibus sed homines ex deo pendent. Nec ille quasi postea confirmat nostra, sed homines exequuntur que prius erant dei. Et hominum ministerio patet tandem in terris quod a deo prius diffinitum in celo erat occultius. Quod revelatum et creditum a legitimo dei ministro prodit in apertum oportuno tempore, et servi dei officio patefactum est cui ut nuncio et interpreti divine voluntatis credendum est.

Hinc est quod Dionysius pontificem, qui est in ecclesia summus et deo proximus angelum et dei interpretem, vocat, qui quod ligatum est in celis credens revelanti deo idem ligat in terris, et quod solutum est in celis idem solvit in terris – id est, divinam ligationem et solutionem quatenus ei indicatur, ecclesie demonstrat et in deo hoc volente notificat. Quia est valde

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9 L quam] BL, SP que **10** BL, SP solvantur] L solvuntur **13** BL, SP celo] L celis **14** L legitimo] BL, SP legittimo **16** divine] L divinae] BL, SP divini

"of Christ that speaketh in me …?"[449] Like Christ by the spirit of God, they enact all things by the spirit of Christ. Become great in God, they receive revealed truths and believe what has been revealed; and, what has been proclaimed by God's spirit, that instructs them in a hidden way, whose motion they do not come to know unless they are sublime in God and certain in the faith they enact and emphatically declare. This is that magnificent faith by which Peter recognized and acknowledged verbally Jesus as "the Christ, the son of the living God."[450] This is that faith whose great power God allots, with the result that whatever he will have bound on earth will be bound likewise in the heavens; and what he has loosed on earth will be loosed also in the heavens. Moreover, in the heavens have doubtlessly been bound in advance all that should be bound, and there are loosed first what ought to be loosed here thereafter. For God does not depend on men, but men on God. Nor does he, as it were, confirm what we do after the fact, but men execute things that first were God's. And the human ministry at last reveals on earth what of things more occult God had formerly delineated in heaven. What has been revealed and believed by God's lawful ministry comes into the open at the opportune time, and the service of God's servants has been thrown open to one who must now be credited a messenger[451] and interpreter of the divine will.

This is the one Dionysius calls the pontifex, God's "angel" and interpreter, who is highest and nearest to God in the church, who, trusting in what has been revealed by God, binds on earth what has been bound in the heavens, and what has been loosed in the heavens, the same he looses on earth—that is, to the extent it is revealed to him, he shows that divine binding and loosing to the church, and in God who wills it he makes it

[449] 2 Cor 13:3: "An experimentum quæritis ejus, qui in me loquitur Christus, qui in vobis non infirmatur, sed potens est in vobis?"

[450] Matt 16:15–16: "Dicit illis Jesus: Vos autem, quem me esse dicitis? Respondens Simon Petrus dixit: Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi." In Matt 16:19, Jesus makes "Petrus" the foundation of the church, the verse later cited as authority for ecclesiastical and specifically papal authority.

[451] Here Colet uses "nuncio" rather than "angelo."

annotandum, ut pontifices non insolescant, non esse hominum remittere peccatorum vincula, nec ad eos pertinet potestas solvendi et ligandi quicquam. Solvit enim et ligat solus deus, et apud se in celo solvit et ligat omnia. Qui primi sunt in ecclesia, sicuti sunt pontifices, quod illic ligatum
n3v et solutum est accipiunt ex | revelatione, et acceptum denunciat et verbis 5

known[452]–since it ought to be well understood so that pontifices not grow haughty that it is not germane to human beings to loosen the bonds of sins, nor does any power of loosing and binding belong to them at all. For God alone looses and binds, and unto himself in heaven he looses and binds everything. Those who hold the first place in the church, as the pontifices do, receive through revelation what has been bound and loosed there, and

[452] In this and following paragraph, Colet begins again his rhetorical maneuver of shifting from the ideal to be striven for (here, the angelic hierarch) to a corrupt reality. Although Colet briefly addresses the situation of the pope below (see n. 454), his description of the ideal pontifex concerns broadly the higher clergy or prelates: cardinals, archbishops, bishops in addition to the pope, all of whom would seem to comprise Dionysius's single ecclesiastical rank of hierarchs. Colet similarly translated the understanding of the pontifex as an angel and interpreter directly into his "collation or proposition" on the occasion of Thomas Wolsey's installation as Cardinal at Westminster Cathedral, 18 November 1515. An anonymous description of the proceedings, occasioned by an apostolic protonotary's delivery of the cardinal's hat to Westminster, offers an unusually detailed summary of Colet's address and is preserved in a Herald's Office Ceremonial (Vol. 3, p. 219), transcribed in full in Richard Fiddes, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey: Collections*, 2nd ed. London, 1726, 201–202. Arnold traces competing views of Colet's role at the installation, one initiated by Lupton, whose summary and comment emphasizes Colet's willingness to challenge Wolsey to live up to the ideal of a cardinal (194–198), another advanced by Gleason, emphasizing Colet's sycophantic praise of the office of cardinal in an effort to engage himself as "Wolsey's man" (244–248); and a more moderate view by Peter Gwyn (*The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* [London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990) that leads Arnold to theorize that Colet had come by this date to temper his zeal to provide a "palatable" recognition of superiors' authority (151–154). Below is reproduced Fiddes's transcript, which seems to echo Colet's typical rhetorical practice, evident in CEH, of demonstratively setting forth an ideal and following it with implicit encouragement that the one being praised should live up to it, presumably omitting due to the occasion the severe consequences of failing to strive to achieve that ideal: "He touched thre things. That is to witt the name of a Cardinal and whearof it is said. Alsoe the highe honour and dignitie of the same, And as keeping the Articles due and belonging to it and by what meanes he obtained to this high honour chieflie as by his own merits theare naminge divers and sundrie vertues that he hath used which have been the Cause of his high and joyous promotion to all the Realme. The second Cause of his promotion was through our Sovereigne Lord the King, for the great Zeale and favour that our holy father the Pope hath to his Grace. The second thing is touching the digditie [sic.] of a Prince as having power Judicial, The third of a Bishop signifying both the old and newe lawe and haveinge the power of them, And also the highe and great Power of a Cardinal representeth the order of *Seraphin* which continually brenneth in the love of the glorious Trinity, And for thies considerations a Cardinal is melie [?] appareled with redd which Collour onelie betokeneth nobleness, And howe he exhorteth theare my Lord Cardinal saying to him in this wise. Non Magnitudo superbum extollat Nobilitatissimum honorisque, dignitate, But remember that our Saviour in his owne person said to his disciples, Non veni ministrari sed ministare, et qui minor inter vos hic Maior regno Celorum, Et qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur, my Lord Cardinal be glad and enforce your selfe always to doe and execute righteousness to riche and poore, and mercy with truth and desired all people to praie for him that might

divinam mentem exequuntur non propriam. Quod si non procedant ex revelatione, acti spiritu dei in omnibus que agant dicantve, delirant stulti tunc necessario ex seipsis, et potestate data tum in blasphemiam dei tum in pernitiem ecclesie nepharie abutuntur.

Ex quibus licet cernere quam altus, quam sublimis, quam totus in celo positus debet esse pontifex, maxime ille quidem, qui summus est, quem nos papam vocitamus, ut, sua authoritate quod in ecclesiam dirivet, vivificans eam in vitam eternam, id totum ex deo hauriat, haustumque decoquat et rite ac legittime per omnia membra distribuat, ut hec refecta divino pabulo in pontifice convivant illo, qui maxime vivit deo, utque omnia ex deo procedant in ecclesiam, in revocationem omnium in ipsum, qui ipse in sana et casta ecclesia est omnia in omnibus, qui vivificat, illuminat, et perficit pontificem, maxime illum qui summus est, ut is deinceps sapientiam et voluntatem dei in omnibus in vitam et salutem omnium fideliter et sinceriter ministret, nihil querens nisi lucrum hominum in deo
n4r et approbationem sui a deo in dispensatione ministeriorum dei – |qui si sit legittimus, non ille agit quippiam sed deus in eo. Quod si quippiam ex semetipso attemptet, venenum tunc parturit. Si idem proferat et

4 L omits "nepharie" 17 BL ille] SP, L illo 17 BL, SP eo] L illo

the rather observe these points and in accomplishinge the same what his reward shall be in the Kingdom of Heaven and so ended." To the extent this anonymous report has authority, Colet's discussion of the ideal office of the cardinal, a type of pontifex, as an "angel" and interpreter seems consistent with views outlined in CEH, and Colet's praise of Wolsey is consistent with the use of demonstrative rhetoric as a means of encouraging reform. Although the office of the cardinal is not mentioned by Dionysius, Colet's analysis of the symbolism of the position, its hat, and its activities are consistent with "anagogic" analyses of rites and ecclesiastical offices in DEH. D'Amico notes that the College of Cardinals had gained authority and sometimes claimed near-papal authority as a consequence of the Western Schism, with cardinals assuming oversight of the church during the period of rival popes. The cardinals' new ecclesiological prominence and duties grew out of the role assigned in Nicholas II's bull *In nomine dei* (1059), wherein cardinals were given authority to elect new popes. D'Amico describes and cites examples of a late medieval "minor literary genre" of tracts on the theology and status in canon law of the cardinalate (228, 320 n. 100) and summarizes Paolo Cortesi's *De cardinalatu* (1510), which, though allowing that cardinals support the pope as head of the sovereign ecclesiological model, nevertheless allowed the position the duty of advising and correcting the pope. Cortesi indirectly supported reforming curialists by criticizing overly opulent lifestyles of some cardinals as well as the practices of simony and nepotism in election of cardinals, for which he allowed this single criterion: "a worthy man has a right to promotion and an unworthy one does not" ($r1^{v}$–$r2^{r}$, cited by D'Amico 233; see 226–237). In England, Henry VII and Henry VIII sought leverage in Rome by seeking appointments for English cardinals, unsuccessfully for John Morton but successfully for Bainbridge and Wolsey.

they formally proclaim what has been received and express the divine mind, not their own. Yet if they should not proceed from the revelation, moved by the spirit of God in everything they do or say, then necessarily the fools rave by themselves and sinfully abuse the power bestowed [on them] first in blasphemy of God, then in the ruin of the church.

From these things it should be evident how lofty, how sublime, how completely the pontifex ought to be situated in heaven, especially that one who is highest, whom we name "pope," so that what he derives by his authority for the church, enlivening it to eternal life, he should draw completely from God, concoct what has been drawn, and distribute justly and lawfully through all the members, so that by means of that pontifex, who lives in God uniquely, they should feast alongside him in God, satiated by divine food,[453] and so that all things should proceed into the church from God, in the recollection of all to himself, who in a healthy and chaste church is himself all in all; who gives life, illumines, and perfects the pontifex, particularly him who is highest, so that [the pope] should minister faithfully and sincerely God's will and wisdom to all for the life and salvation of all, according to degree continually, seeking nothing except the profit of men in God and his approval by God for the dispensation of the ministries of God—who, if legitimate, does not do anything, but God in him.[454] Yet if he should make any attempt by himself, then he gives birth

[453] On the attractive draw of the stomach for food, its digestive concoctions, and its role in nourishment and excretion, see Galen, *On the Natural Faculties* 3.7–8 (Brock tr. 248–276). Colet likely has in mind the nourishment of the eucharist as well as 1 Cor 10; cf. CCC 10. 214–218.

[454] This is the only direct reference to the office of the papacy in CEH, "pontifex" lending itself etymologically to association with "pontiff," although as noted previously Colet uses the term generally as a Latinate reference to Dionysius's ἱεράρχης. It is impossible to decipher a particular reference. During his adult life, Colet would have experienced several controversial papacies, including those of Innocent VIII (1484–1492), the Borgia pope Alexander VI (1492–1503), the della Rovere pope Julius II (1503–1513), and the Medici pope Leo X (1513–1521). Colet might have observed Alexander VI and his curia during his residence in Rome. Contemporaries thought Colet's associate, Erasmus, the author of the anonymously circulated send-up of Julius II's rejection from heaven, *Julius exclusus de caelis* (1514), yet whatever Colet's opinion of Julius may have been, he respected his ecclesiastical authority. Sir Michael McDonnell, *The Annals of St. Paul's School* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1959), 48, notes that in 1512 Colet drafted a petition to Julius II seeking approval of the change of administration of St. Paul's School from the Cathedral Chapter to the Mercers' Company; no response from Rome is extant but the change in responsibility took place (Arnold, *Dean John Colet* 94–95, Gleason 221). Calls for reform of the papacy were, of course, longstanding. John D'Amico observes that Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X each promulgated bulls for the reform of specific practices such as simony, concubinage, blasphemy, unqualified priests, and immoral or non-Christian practices; the curialist Jacopo

suam ipsius voluntatem exequatur, in ecclesie interitum perdite venenum infundit. Quod nunc quidem abhinc annis multis factum est, et iam ita se auxit et omnes ecclesie artus ita potenter occupat, ut nisi mediator ille qui solus potest, qui ecclesiam sibi creavit et condidit ex nihilo (idcirco eam sepe creaturam vocat Paulus); nisi inquam mediator ille Iesus quam cito manus apponat: egrotissima ecclesia longe a morte abesse non potest. Relaxant et retrahunt, solvunt et ligant homines non, ex fide deo, que ligata sunt in celis sed que ipsi volunt, unde omnia disturbantur in terris. Non sunt executores voluntatis dei sed actores proprie. Non testificant quid deus vult, quod facere debent (nam eorum officium nihil aliud est quam testificatio voluntatis dei) sed quid ipsi appetunt demonstrant. Non consulunt deum in agendis oracione assidua, sed cum hominibus consultationem capiunt, quo labefactant et demoliuntur omnia. Querunt
n4v (quod dolendum | est quodque ego et dolens et flens scribo) que sua sunt omnes, non que Iesu christi, terrestria non celestia, que ferent eos in mortem non in vitam eternam.

Sed ut redeamus ad propositum: Verus pontifex et antistes legittimus et fidelis dispensator ministeriorum dei non agit quicquam nisi ex deo – manus minister instrumentum dei, cui ut deo ipsi credendum est. Quamobrem in officio funerali dum precatur eternam vitam sanctis demortuis in

11 BL, SP quid (parallel to prior usage)] L quod

Sadoleto objected to the non-residence of and lack of care of bishops for their dioceses; the eventual English legate and cardinal Adriano Castellesi cited the norms of ecclesiastical hierarchy and governance from canon law; and Domenico de'Domenchi (1416–1478), bishop of Torcello, wrote of the need for the papal oversight of curial abuses and their reform. Theologians and mystics such as Giles of Viterbo and Pietro Colonna Galatino (1464–1540) drew on Joachimism and Cabalism along with theological traditions in order to address reforms needed within the existing church (D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* [Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1983], 212–226); on Giles, see Daniel Nodes' introduction to *The Commentary on the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus*, 1–24. Colet's relative inattention to the office of the pope, as distinct from other prelates, is consistent with the emphasis in the Convocation Sermon for reform at the national and local levels. D'Amico writes, "Whatever attitude a humanist or any concerned cleric brought to the reform of the Curia, he related it to the general reform of the Church and Christian society. Moral reform was never conceived of as purely Roman. Rome's reform would be the example and machinery for the rest of Christendom" (215). Although Colet addresses specific categories of ecclesiastical reform in the Convocation Sermon (unworthy and over-numerous benefices, simony, non-residency in curates and clerical appointment of irresponsible vicars, secularism and materialism, political episcopal appointments, irresponsible use of the ecclesiastical patrimony, the covetousness of ecclesiastical courts), he here points to a more general and deeper need based in the perception of self in relation to God.

to destruction. If he were to bring forth the same and carry out his will of himself, then he recklessly pours out poison to the destruction of the church. Yet this very thing has been done for many years past, and now it spreads itself so much and so powerfully seizes every limb of the church that, unless that mediator who alone is capable, who himself created and built the church from nothing (on that account Paul often calls it a creature[455]); unless, I say, that mediator Jesus would very quickly apply his [healing] hands, the most sickly church cannot be far from death. Men unbind and re-tighten, loose and bind, those things that are bound in heaven not from faith in God, but what they themselves want, whence all on earth are thrown into disorder. They are not executors of God's will but agents on their own behalf. They do not give witness to what God wants, which they should do (for their office is nothing other than the being a witness of God's will), but they reveal what they themselves wish. They do not take God's advice and pray steadfastly over what must be done, but they receive consultation from men, by which they shake everything violently and bring it crashing down. What is to be lamented and what I write wailing and weeping—they all seek after the things that exist for them, not those [that are] for Jesus Christ, the earthly, not the celestial, things which will bring them to death, not to eternal life.

But let us return to the subject: the true pontifex and lawful high-priest and faithful steward of God's ministries—the hand, the minister, the instrument of God, to be believed like God himself—does nothing except from God. Wherefore during the office of the funeral, he now calls

[455] E.g, Rom 8:19–22, 2 Cor 5:13, Gal 6:15, Col 1:15.

christo, reverenter dei certam voluntatem eloquitur ex fide et affectu, id rogans ut fiat quod plane scit fore, ut verbis deprecatoris, que in omnibus decent pontificem, testetur ecclesie astanti iusticiam et graciam dei hominibus – eis scilicet qui in christo bene moriantur. Est enim pontifex testificator voluntatis dei et quasi os et mentis dei verbum, que prescripta sunt a deo que fide cernit exprimens. Deus ipse est qui bene agit omnia in omnibus. [Q]uod autem deinde pontifex et universa ecclesia salutat defunctum et ei quasi ultimum vale dicat, est significatio non mortui omnino sed hominis in aliam regionem et veram suam et propriam patriam commigrantis.

Salutatum cadaver sacro oleo perfundit pontifex, ut hoc illum certa-
n5r men confecisse denotet. An-|notandus est vetus mos ab ipsis apostolis institutus: iniciandos primum symbolo eruditos fuisse instructos et nudatos, et iam iniciatos oleo in certamen perunctos fuisse, postremo egregios pugnatores defunctos extremam et perfectoriam unctionem accepisse. Unguenti usus est frequens in christiana ecclesia, que ab unctione cognomen habet et vocatur Christiana. Unguentum vero est diversorum odorum commixtio addito oleo aut balsamo aut alio eiusmodi pingui. Ecclesia in hoc genere propriam suam habet compositionem. Quod unguentum spiritum sanctum significat, quo roborantur omnes in christo, et ad

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2 deprecatoris] BL, SP, L deprecatoriis **3** BL, SP decent] L debent **7** Quod] BL, SP gap of five spaces before "-uod"] L Quod **7** BL, SP salutat] L salutet **12** L confecisse] BL, SP conficisse **15** SP, L accepisse] BL accipisse **18** BL, SP eiusmodi] L huiusmodi **20** spiritum sanctum] L Spiritum Sanctum] BL, SP spiritumsanctum

upon the eternal life of the saints who have died in Christ, reverently articulates the determined will of God out of faith and passion, asking that it may be done as he fully knows beforehand, so that by the words of an intercessor, which in every respect are suitable to a pontifex, he might bear witness to the assembled standing near of God's justice and grace to men—to those, that is, who should die in the right way, in Christ.[456] For the pontifex is one bearing witness of God's will and [is] as it were the mouth and word of God's mind, expressing what he discerns by faith of the things God has dictated. It is God himself who acts well to all in all. The fact that the pontifex and the entire assembly thereupon pay their respects to the deceased and are to say to him as it were a final farewell is not at all a signification of a dead man but of a man migrating to his true and proper patrimony.

The pontifex pours holy oil over the honored corpse, that this may indicate the struggle's having ended.[457] The ancient custom is to be observed as instituted by the apostles themselves: that those to be initiated had first been instructed in the creed, trained, and stripped, and those already initiated had been anointed with oil[458] for the struggle, and lastly eminent soldiers, now dead, received the extreme, perfecting unction. The use of unguent is frequent in the Christian church, which [use] has the name from *unctio* and is called 'christening.' In fact the unguent is a sort of mixing together of diverse perfumes with added oil or balsam or another fat of some type. In this kind [of mixture] the church maintains its own composition. And this unguent signifies the holy Spirit, through whom all in

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[456] In this complex statement, which returns to the matter of intercession (see n. 431 above), Colet seems to assign the pontifex a role ventriloquizing God's judgment, which the pontifex perceives due to revelation. Consequently, the pontifex acts as "intercessor" ("deprecator") in his mediatorial role as an instrument of God's will; his prayers cannot intercede to alter God's will concerning the deceased. DEH 7. 3. 8 (PG 3. 565A) simply describes the hierarch's kiss of peace to the deceased; TEH (43$^{r\text{-}v}$), like Colet, converts the "kiss" to "paying respects" or "embracing" ("salute").

[457] DEH 7. 3. 8 (PG 3. 565A). The editors do not know of any warrant for Colet's elaboration upon the "apostolic" institution that follows.

[458] Colet develops Dionysius's imagery of oiled athletes (DEH 7. 3. 8 [PG 3. 565A]; see DEH 2. 7 [PG 3. 396C]) and conflates it with metaphors based on the oiling of bodies for battle. Doing so allows him to refer to the sacraments of baptism, extreme unction, and soldiers in Christ, perhaps those who have received the sacrament of confirmation. The connection between the metaphor and the sacraments echoes Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis christiani* (1503): speaking of baptismal signs, Erasmus asks, "For what purpose were you anointed with sacred oils except to take up arms in this struggle against vice?" (1.1, Dolan tr. 32; "Quorsum perinebat sacro illius perungi ceromate, nisi ut cum vitiis aeternum luctamen ingredereris?" [LB, V. 3]).

certamen spectat, quod imus sub duce christo cum spiritalibus nequitie in celestibus, cum quibus spiritu sancto inuncti et roborati dimicamus; cuius sancti spiritus sacramentum est, que corpori adhibetur unctio, que est unctionis anime significatrix, qua spiritales in spiritu christi in spiritale pugna armis spiritalibus cum spiritalibus hostibus quamdiu hic vivimus legittimi in christo confligimus. Postremo invicti ipsi tuti in christo, quum evaserimus, perfuncta milicia, defuncti ungimur, ut intelligatur cuius virtute pugnare cepimus, eiusdem spiritu sancti gracia nos bellum confecisse.

n5v Postremo corpus sepelitur circumceptum vel | terra vel lapide vel quavis alia materia, cum sui ordinis hominibus in diem resurrectionis reservatum. Prime ecclesie institutum fuit, ut seorsum et distinctum locarentur cadavera etiam in cadaveribus non disturbato ordine, ut ubique ordo appareret. Que corpora, ut erant participia laboris et certaminis pacienta malorum et abstinentia a voluptatibus, ita certa spe ponuntur in participationem glorie, quando dei potentia reintegrata suis animabus revincientur. Nam si totus homo ad exemplum christi non glorifecaretur ab ipso christo et apostolis, unde omnis sacramentorum institutio profecta est, in ipsum corpus et carnem non instituta fuissent sacramenta, que se habent certe ad corpus in immortalitatem illius quemadmodum spiritus in gloriam animi immortalem. Panis enim et benedictus calix internum pabulum et unctio externa fotio – quid nam vult aliud quam eciam corpus ali nutriri et foveri suo modo una cum anima in vitam et gloriam immortalem? Pane enim et potu et oleo servamur in vita et intus et extra. In sensibilibus signis, que sunt in usu maxime ad hanc vitam adhibentur, veteri instituto apostolorum, ut hoc admoneamur sacramenta illa eciam in corpus vitam credentibus operari sempiternam. Anima autem suum
n6r proprium panem et potum | habet, quo vescitur, et unguentum, quo fovetur, quod vulgus et rudis plebecula nequit videre et cernere.

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2 spiritu sancto] L Spiritu sancto] BL, SP spiritumsancto **3** sancti spiritus] L sancti Spiritus] BL, SP sanctispiritus **4** SP spiritale] BL, L spiritali **7** BL, SP gap of two spaces after defuncti **8** spiritu sancti] L Spiritus sancti] BL, SP spiritussancti **10** L circumceptum (Ramminger cites 1524 usage by Johann Dietenberger)] BL, SP circunceptum] **12–13** BL, SP locarentur cadavera] L locaretur cadaver **22** BL externa] SP extrema] L extrema (but footnote [266n] indicates to read “externa”) **28** L vescitur] BL, SP vestitur

the Christ are strengthened, and it has regard to the struggle that we enter under the leader, Christ, with spiritual beings of iniquity in the heavens with whom we fight, anointed and strengthened by the holy Spirit; the unction that is applied to the body, indicative of the soul's anointing by which we, spiritual in Christ's Spirit so long as we live here according to the law [and] engage in a spiritual battle using spiritual arms against spiritual enemies, is a sacrament of that holy Spirit. Discharged from the war, we are finally anointed at death, unconquered and safe in Christ when we have escaped, so that having won our war through the grace of his holy Spirit, it should be understood [that] we took up the fight through his strength.

At last the corpse is buried, enclosed by earth or stone or whatever other material you like, preserved with its human ranks until resurrection day. The practice of the early church was that the cadaver should be positioned by itself and set off, yet without disruption in the order among cadavers, so that order may be seen everywhere.[459] About the bodies—just as they had shared in labor and wars, in the suffering of evils and abstinence from pleasures, so they are laid out with sure hope in [their] participation in glory, when by the power of God they will again be bound fast, restored to their souls. For if the whole man were not glorified according to Christ's example by Christ himself and the apostles, whence every institution of the sacraments has been advanced, [then] the sacraments, which themselves surely hold fast to the body in its immortality as the spirit [clings] to the immortal glory of the soul, would not have had an institution in the body and the flesh. For the bread and blessed chalice [provide] inner nourishment, and the anointing, an outer caress[460]—for what else does it mean but that even the body is fed, nourished, and caressed in its measure with one soul, to life and glory immortal? For by bread and drink and oils we are preserved in both inner and outer life. By the ancient institution of the apostles, the things that are most in use in this life are employed in the perceptible signs, that in this we may be reminded that those sacraments even with respect to the body effect eternal life for those who believe. Moreover the soul has its own proper bread and drink with which it is fed, and oil with which it is caressed, which the multitude and unrefined mob cannot see or perceive.

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[459] Colet draws this inference about burial practices in the early church from Dionysius 7. 3. 9 (PG 3. 565B): "the hierarch lays the body in an honored place alongside the bodies of other saints of the same order" (Luibheid tr. 257).

[460] DEH 7. 3. 9 (PG 3. 565B) likewise links discussion of the burial to sacramental mediation between body and soul.

Obedientia in deo, bona spe, fide in signis, assiduitate bene agendi salvabitur vulgus christianum, quanquam hac ruditate tam excelsum in celo locum, in glorioso christo, non assequentur sicuti illi, qui copiosiori spiritu longius prospiciunt et mysteria altius discernunt, quoniam, ut homines hic promoventur – non dico viribus propriis sed humilitate et tractu spiritus – ita omnino ad eundem ordinem locabuntur in celis. Que in sacris sacramentifica verba fiunt divus Dionysius de sacramentis consulto tacet, et de illis litteris disserere noluit, ne spargeret in porcos dei margaritas, uti diximus; et dicendum est sepius: ab indigno vulgo sancta custodia vindicanda sunt sacramenta, que ab illis attrectata vilescunt. Sacratiora loca, vasa, vestes, et quicquid est sacerdotale imperite et prophane multitudini non nisi ex remoto licet aspicere et id quoque magno timore et reverentia. Sed, proh nephas, in huius tempestatis nostre infelicitate confunduntur omnia ita turpiter, ut nihil iam magis sit prophanum quam quod debet
n6v esse sacerrimum. |

[VII.4]

[E]x sermone Dionysii videre licet saluti infantum statim ab initio nascentis ecclesie ab ipso christo et apostolis provisum fuisse. In primaque

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8 BL, L spargeret] SP spergeret **16** VII.4] L names this Section II of Part III of Chapter VII, adding the section due to its discontinuity with the preceding one, despite the appearance of the new topic of infant baptism at this point in DEH (7.3.11 [PG 3 568A-569A]). To emphasize the abrupt shift in topic and simplify the classification, we renumber this section.

The common Christian multitude will be saved by obedience to God, good hope, faith in the signs, constant attention to acting well, although because of its lack of form they do not gain so lofty a place in heaven, in glorious Christ, as do those who see farther due to a more fruitful spirit and [who] discern the higher mysteries, since just as men are promoted here—I say not by self-generated powers but by humility and by being drawn by the Spirit—so in the heavens they will be arranged entirely according to the same systematic order.[461] Holy Dionysius on the sacraments deliberately is silent about what the words constitutive of the sacrament in sacred rites are, and he did not wish to set down anything in writing about them, lest he should cast God's pearls before swine, as we have said;[462] and it is to be said more often: the sacraments are to be guarded under a holy watch from the unworthy multitude, who hold cheap what they handle. It is not at all permitted to the multitude of the ignorant and profane to look upon the more sacred places, vessels, vestments, and whatever is priestly save at a distance and even then with great fear and reverence. But, alas, in the wretchedness of this our time, all things are so foully brought into disorder that as a result nothing could be more profane now than what should be most sacred.

Chapter 7.4 Rites and Contemplation of Infant Baptism and Confirmation

In Dionysius's discourse one can see Christ and the apostles had made provision for the well-being of infants from the beginning of the infant

[461] Colet completes the series required for the salvation of the faithful not with "charity" but with "acting well," a significant departure from the Pauline formula in that it aligns the action that is, for Colet, charity with the Dionysian energy that enlivens the orderly "body" of hierarchic order with a "soul." More discerning members of the Christian hierarchy receive added power through the activation (through the agency and attractive power of the Spirit, not their own virtues) of their "spirit," a third component that aims at perfection, in contrast to those faithful fixed upon the illumining signs of the sacraments. Colet translates to the spiritual nature of the Christian the spiritual nature of humanity in general that Erasmus presents in *Enchiridion militis christiani* 1.7.

[462] See DEH 7. 3. 10 [PG 3. 565C]. Rorem's annotation to Luibheid's translation (257 n. 222) observes that Dionysius's reference here to "consecrating ordinations" is to the prayers at ordination (DEH 5. 2), making this, like the subsequent discussion of infant baptism, a kind of appendix to the preceding. Like the note to this passage in TEH (scholium *uu*, 44^{v}), Colet does not emphasize Dionysius's admonition, and he omits TEH's use of "consecrationis preces" in the translation.

ecclesia ipsa infantulos modo natos, propterea quod longe tum a culpa propria et nudi a viciis sunt, dummodo receperit aliquis eorum curatum et pro illis spoponderit si vixerint, in re fore quod sacramenta exposcunt, non tantum regenerationis sancto lavachro lotos et illuminatos, sed preterea sacrosancte eucharistie (sine qua in prima ecclesia ne infantum quidem baptismus esse potuit) participatione annexos et christi corpori mystico consertos fuisse.

Quod quanquam carnales homines, qui non sapiunt ea que dei sunt, tunc pro ridiculo habuerint, qui nihil admiserunt nec probarunt nisi quod humilis racio sibi persuasum habuit, tamen hominibus fidelibus et spiritalibus infantum consecratio deo magnum et admirandum divine misericordie sacramentum videtur. Et ab ecclesia habetur res plena pietatis, modo rite fiat et modo legittimo; cuius rei racio etsi cerni ab [hominibus
n7r non] possit, nil mirum est quidem quando nec ipsi quidem primi ange-|li omnia cognoscant.

Verum pia fides admittit et colit omnia. Et qui primum instituerunt non modo illud sacramentum sed preterea reliqua omnia – illi scilicet apostoli – eorum vel raciones tenuerunt vel crediderunt tenenti. Quod instinctu divini spiritus exortum est et fit, racione vel summa carere non

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2 BL, SP receperit] L susceperit **2** L curatum] BL, SP curatu **7** fuisse] In a note (268n), L suggests "reperio" or something similar for "fuisse"; however, "fuisse" is consistent with "fore" in the preceding member. **13–14** L [hominibus non]] BL, SP: gap of about eighteen spaces after "ab" **14** SP, L nec] BL nei

church.[463] And that [church], because [infants] are still far from sins of their own and bare of any vices, in the early church, provided that someone took charge of them and became surety[464] for them, that, if they lived, it would happen in fact that they would request the sacraments—that [the infants] be not only cleansed and illumined by a holy washing but also by a sharing of the holy eucharist (without which in the early church there could be no baptism even of infants) be connected and joined to the mystical body of Christ.[465]

Though carnal men, who do not understand the things that belong to God, who have neither allowed nor approved anything save what lowly reason has induced, held them up for ridicule, nevertheless the consecration of children to God by faithful and spiritual men is thought a great and marvellous sacrament of divine mercy. And the church holds the rite to be full of piety, provided that it is performed according to the correct ritual and according to law; and even if the principle of its rite cannot be discerned by men, it is not at all remarkable since even the highest angels cannot understand everything.[466]

Certainly upright faith gives access to and cares for all. And those who at the beginning instituted not only that sacrament but all the rest—that is, the apostles—either grasped their principles or believed the one who was holding them fast. That which comes into existence and is done by the inspiration of the divine spirit cannot lack reason, even the highest

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[463] Colet's steady confidence in the apostolic authority of Dionysius gives rise to the paronomasia in this sentence. See DEH 7. 3. 11 (PG 3. 565D–569A). Rorem's note to Luibheid's translation observes that Dionysius did not mention infant baptism and communion in the earlier discussion of sacramental rites (DEH 2 and 3) (tr. Luibheid, 258 n. 223). Dionysius's text is defensive, writing to Timotheus in anticipation that some will mock the practice of initiating children to rites they cannot understand. Dionysius argues that raising children according to holy precepts will help them avoid errors and acquire "habits of holiness" (258), and he approves the practice so long as the child has a "spiritual father" or sponsor and a "sacred leader" who actively guides him to a Christian way of life.

[464] spoponderit: see Vulgate, Prov 17:18.

[465] Dionysius refers to the conjunction of baptism and communion for infants when framing the charges of those who mock the practice: "what could really earn the ridicule of the impious is the fact that infants, despite their inability to understand the divine things, are nevertheless admitted to that sacrament of sacred divine-birth and to the sacred symbols of the divine communion" (DEH 7. 3. 11 [PG 3. 565D]; TEH 43^{v}).

[466] Not surprisingly given his voluntarism, Colet echoes Dionysius's emphasis in this place on the limits of reason, even of the "primi angeli," as regards the reasons for infant baptism: Dionsyius points out that even the wisest hierarchs and "orders which are superior to our human condition" lack knowledge of things known "fully only by that all-wise divinity which is the source of all wisdom" (DEH 7. 3. 11 [PG 3. 568A]).

potest, quam non attingit humilis humana racio sed supra hanc racionem, fides, lumen certe nobis datum in christo divine racionis capax; in qua re fideque, quam vel ipsi precipui christi condiscipuli sibi exaugeri petierunt, si nos parvi simus, idcirco magna dei sacramenta non contemnamus. Quinimmo agnoscamus et vere ac humiliter confiteamur angustiam racionis nostre, atque quod nescimus que dei sunt comprehendere, nostre parvitati ascribamus potius quam statim que non capit pusilla racio dedignanter aspernemur. Ac studeamus supra racionem maiores fieri fide, et supra carnem spiritales, et supra homines divini. Credamusque omnino et indubitanter divina nisi a divinis hominibus capi non posse.

Sed iam de sacris parvulorum, qui in ecclesia christiana nati sunt, quisnam fuerat eorum iniciandorum ordo et ritus apud priscos illos nostre religionis viros videamus.

n7v Apud [priscam ecclesiam], ut diximus Dionysii | testimonio, quadam conditione et lege tum ad baptismum tum eucharistiam admissi erant. Modus inducendi eos ut annumerarentur in ecclesia, sicuti refert Dionysius hic quidem fuit.

Parens, edito in lucem nato, intelligens non nasci filio filieve melius fuisse quam in christo non renasci, non ignorans etiam parum prodesse sacramenta – immo obesse certe – nisi vita, si infans adolescat, acceptis sacris responderit – ut ergo a pontifice in participationem sacrorum admittatur parens circuit, et sollicite querit ubinam locorum reperiat bonum virum ac peritum christiane veritatis, qui recipiat in se et

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1 BL, SP supra] L super **4** BL, SP simus] L sumus **6–7** BL parvitati] SP, L pravitati **8** BL, SP aspernemur] L aspernemer **14** priscam ecclesiam] BL, SP erasure of sixteen spaces after "Apud"] L [priscam ecclesiam] **15** L silently inserts "ad" after tum **20** BL, SP sacramenta] L sacramentum **21** responderit] SP: superscript "r" above correction, following "-de-"

reason, which no lowly human reason but faith above this reason reaches, a light capable of divine reason given to us with certainty in Christ; if we are weak in the substance and faith that the preeminent disciples of Christ themselves strove to increase, we may not for that reason condemn God's great sacraments.[467] Rather, we ought to recognize and truly and humbly confess the narrow-mindedness of our reason, and that we do not know the things that are God's to comprehend we should impute to our smallness rather than disdainfully, unyieldingly reject what our paltry reason does not grasp. And we must strive to be made stronger in faith above reason, and spiritual above the flesh, and divine above the human. And we must believe entirely and undoubtingly that divine matters cannot be grasped except by divine men.

But at this time we should observe what had been the order and custom of the rites of holy children born in the Christian church, of their being initiated by those men from the ancient time of our religion.

In [the ancient church], as we have said according to the testimony of Dionysius, [infants] were admitted by some agreement and law first to baptism and then the eucharist. The method of bringing them in that they may be counted within the church is the same as that Dionysius discusses here.

The parent, after having brought a child into the light, understanding [it] to have been better for a son or daughter not to be born than not to be re-born in Christ, not being ignorant of the sacraments as having too little profit—to the contrary, even being harmful—unless life should answer to the received rites, if the infant should grow[468]–the parent makes the rounds and carefully seeks out places where he might find a good man and one expert in Christian truth, to assume [the responsibility] in himself

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[467] The conditional syllogism that concludes the thought of this complicated sentence (si … idcirco) seems intentionally ironic given Colet's subordination therein of reason to faith. This paragraph on the weakness of reason loosely paraphrases DEH 7. 3. 11 (PG 3. 568A).

[468] Colet's emphasis upon the limited efficacy of the sacraments and their potential to cause harm if received without active expression is not found in—and seems potentially contrary to—Dionysius's theory of emanative sacramental influence. It is consistent with Erasmus's criticism of vacuous ceremonialism: see *Enchiridion militis christiani*, Chapter 8, Fifth Rule, following condemnation of those who attend mass daily for its own sake: "Let us consider a moment the matter of baptism. Do you really think that the ceremony of itself makes you a Christian? If your mind is preoccupied with the affairs of the world, you may be a Christian on the surface, but inwardly you are a Gentile of the Gentiles. Why is this? It is simply because you have grasped the body of the sacrament, not the spirit" (Dolan tr. 65–66; LB V. 31B–C).

promittat instructionem filii et eruditionem in omnibus illis que spectant ad salutem; quique apud pontificem, si ille eum insigniverit et induerit divinis sacris, pro infante spondeat ex ratione sacrorum, si adoleverit, ipsum sancte et puriter in christo victurum. Cuiusmodi virum quum nactus fuerit pater quumque ei suum filiolum bona fide commendaverit, quasi altero et maiori parenti in deo – nam paternum officium et generatio infantis regenerationi eiusdem antecedens ministerium est – is tum
n8r vir, qui susceperit in se parturitionem | pueruli in christo, ut tandem, si vixerit, perfectus christianus formatus effigiatur hac magna professione paternitatis in christo – adit pontificem, illi ostendit quem in regenerationem vel potius in quandam plenam formationem in christo sibi accepit, petit reverenter a pontifice ut eum christi corpore asciscat similitudine et consignatione sacrorum, ut ex ipsis in vitam sacris dignam sua assiduitate et cura coalescat. Pontifex tum quum audiat hominem spondere sancteque promittere pro puero, quumque eundem videat ut promissa prestet non esse inidoneum, accepta sponsione, confisus divine misericordie, more et ritu instituto ab apostolis, iustis formulis et signaculis, infantem exornat, tum illuminans baptismate tum sacra communione perficiens. Interea illo alumno, qui puerum in christo educandum suscepit, dante fidem, et sancte promittente pro infante omnia ea que vera christianitas exposcit – abrenuntiationem videlicet omnis iniquitatis et sacramentis fidem et vitam perserverantem in christo tanta professione

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2 insigniverit] BL: “n” before “s” overwritten on “f” 7 BL, SP regenerationi] L regeneracione 8 L qui] BL, SP quum

and promise the instruction of the child and [his] erudition in all things that look to salvation,[469] and to give assurance before the pontifex, if he signs him and bestows on him the divine rites, that, if he grows up, he will live according to the custom of the sacred rites, holily and purely in Christ. When the father will have found a man of this kind to whom he will commend the little child in good faith, as though to another and greater parent in God—for surpassing the paternal duty and act of generation of the infant is the ministry of its regeneration—he, then, who will have taken upon himself the birth of the little child in Christ, so that at length, if it should live, it may be fashioned as a perfected Christian by this great declaration of paternity in Christ–[he] approaches the pontifex, shows him the one whom he has taken to himself in regeneration or, rather, in some completed process of gaining form in Christ, reverently requests of the pontifex that he admit [the infant] to Christ's body in the likeness and with the seal of the sacred rites, so that from them it may join in a life worthy of the sacred rites by means of [the sponsor's] constant attention and care. When the pontifex hears the man give assurance and piously vouch for the boy, and when he sees that the same, not being unfit to stand as surety for the promises, he, trusting in divine mercy after having received the solemn promises, adorns the infant with the just formulas and signs according to the custom and rite instituted by the apostles, first illumining through baptism and then perfecting through sacred communion. Meanwhile, as to that ward who has taken up educating a boy in Christ by giving faith to the infant and piously giving assurance for him in everything that true Christianity requests—that is, the renunciation of all iniquity and faith in the sacraments and a life persevering in Christ, made worthy by so great a declaration—which

[469] DEH 7. 3. 11 (PG 3. 568B) specifies the parents' role in the selection of an infant's sponsor: "our divine leaders decided it was a good thing to admit children, though on condition that the parents of the child would entrust him to some good teacher who is himself initiated in the divine things and who could provide religious teaching as the child's spiritual father and as the sponsor of salvation"; TEH refers to the parents' selection of a "magistrum" (43^{v}). Colet's stated intent in re-founding St. Paul's School gains point given the pedagogic role assigned to the sponsor and the dissatisfactions Colet expresses below regarding selection of godparents. In the Statutes of St. Paul's School (18 June 1518), Colet authorizes a curriculum of "good literature both laten and greke," using writers displaying "the veray Romayne eliquence joined withe wisdom" and especially "Cristyn auctors that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse and prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to incresse knowledge and worshipping of god and oure lord Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children" (Lupton, *A Life* 279).

dignam – quod non pro infante ipso loquitur, quod esset ridiculum ut alius pro ignorante loquatur, sed quum dicit abrenuntiationem loquens ipse profitetur se, quoad poterit, effecturum ut infantulus ille statim quum
n8v erudi-|tionis capax fuerit, re ipsa et vita omnem rationem christiane persone contrarium longe abrenunciet, exhibeatque se in omni vita dignum sacris, sciens tandem in adolescentiore etate et sponte profitens que ipse infans iustius accepit. Tum hac lege et conditione – ut alumnus prestet quod promiserit – ad sacra pontifex infantem admittit. Quando audit illum quem ego alumnum, Dionysius vero modo susceptorem modo divinum patrem appellat, ab aliis patrinus, compater ab aliis vocatur, pontifex, inquam, quando audit illum dicentem Abrenuntio, quod est quidem, ut exponit Dionysius, efficiam ipse ut infans omne ei oblatum ex inferiori loco, et diabolo abrenunciet repudietque, nihilque velit nisi quod ei superne ex celo ab ipso deo delatum fuerit. Illi promisso habens fidem pontifex, bona non ignorans mysteri[a] dei, et quod pollicitus est susceptor ille expectans, libenter infantem christian[um] nota distinguit, ut agnoscatur quasi surculus ex fideli arbore prodiisse. Cui nonnihil affert fides parentum, tametsi eciam non multum affert, siquidem christiana arbor surgit et se multiplicat in ramos, non carnali generatione sed regeneratione spiritali. Unde constat vera paternitate et in christo magis et verius patrem alumnum illum esse, qui natum hominem in christo com-
o1r plet, quam geni-|torem, qui carni materiam sumministravit. Filius eciam tametsi utrunque parentem colat, et illum primum, qui eum hominis filium fecit, et hunc secundum, qui minister eundem dei filium procreavit – tamen profecto est quod plus debeat secundo et eum parentis maiori loco suscipiat, quoniam plus est quidem perfici in deo quam progigni ab homine. Quamobrem pluris est et in superiori loco susceptor quam pater; et eius officium actioque multo est excellentior et magis meritoria, atque

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1 L omits "ipso" after "infante" **5** L dignum] BL, SP dignam **7** BL, SP iustius] L inscius **7** BL prestet] L praestet] SP prestat **11** SP, L omit illum after audit **15** L mysteria] BL, SP erasure of one space after mysteri- **16** christianum] BL, SP erasure of three spaces after "christian-"] L Christian[itatis] **22** Filius] BL, SP, L filium

he does not say for the infant itself, since it would be laughable that one should speak for the ignorant, but when, speaking for himself, he makes the renunciation, he professes, so far as possible, that it be brought about that as soon as the little infant is capable of learning he will renounce in act and life every principle far opposed to the Christian character and show himself worthy of the sacred in [his] entire life, [the child] at last coming to understand in a more mature form and willingly promising what he as an infant accepted without understanding.[470] Then, by this law and compact—that the ward must stand surety for what he has promised, the pontifex admits the infant to the sacred. When [the pontifex] hears him whom I call the "ward" but Dionysius sometimes "guardian," and at other times the "divine father," and "godfather" by some others and "joint father," the pontifex, I say, when he hears "I renounce!"—which is really, as Dionysius explains, "I myself will make it happen that the infant renounces and rejects entirely what is brought up to him from a lower place and the devil, and desire nothing other than what has been brought down to him from heaven above by God himself," placing faith in that promise, the pontifex, not being ignorant of God's good mysteries and looking forward to what that guardian has promised, gladly distinguishes the infant with the mark of Christians that he may be recognized as a twig branching from the tree of the faithful. To whom the faith of the parents brings something even though it does not contribute much because the Christian tree grows and enlarges itself in [its] branches not through fleshly procreation but through spiritual regeneration. Whence it is agreed that that ward, who in Christ completes the child after he is born, is more the father, and more truly so in true paternity and in Christ, than the procreator who supplied the substance for the flesh. Moreover, although a son may cherish each parent, both that first one, who made him the son of a man, and this second one, the minister who procreated the same [child] as God's son—for all that, it is certain he owes more to the second, and he must accept him as parent in a more important rank, since to be made perfect in God is greater than to be begotten by man. Wherefore the guardian is of greater value and in a higher position than the father; and his office and action [are] much more excellent and more meritorious and [are] what deserve far more from God and from that little infant than

[470] In paraphrasing the meaning of the sponsor's promise here and as hypothetical direct address just below, Colet follows Dionysius closely: DEH 7. 3. 11 (PG 3. 568B–C). See also TEH, folio 38^{v}.

ea, que et a deo et ab illo infantulo longe plus meretur, quam quicquam quod est in generatione a patre factum, qui opus carnis fecit sue voluptatis magis causa quam prolis utilitate. Susceptor vero sine sua voluptate eciam cum dolore reparturit hominem christo dei charitate incensus in hominis salutem.

Sic videmus in prima ecclesia apostolorum instituto non simpliciter infantes ad sacra admissos fuisse, sed ea lege tantum ut fide iubeat aliquis pro eis, quum per etatem racione uti poterint, illos in re hinc christi formam preselaturos. Qui fideiussor et sponsor habebit sibi in curam, ut erudiat et educet puerum ea doctrina et moribus, ut pro sacramentorum racione prestet se verum christianum. Qui infans est insignitus sacris, ut
01v educetur in ipsis. Quod si sit qui spon-|deat sancte et promittat in puero id futurum, tunc bona spe pia ecclesia adiungit sibi infantulum, ut alumni preceptis et monitis in professione christi vir evadet.

Sic vide quantum onus in se suscipit, qui alumnum infantulis se pollicetur esse, quantumque habet quod in infante prestet, quantum eciam et parentes et infans ipse debet alumno et susceptori suo, modo ex officio agat perficiatque quod spopondit se facturum. Longe plus dico ei debet quam illi qui genuit genitori suo.

Hic etiam licet videre quam ob ignorantiam hac nostra temporum confusione, qui hoc munus subeunt quod obligantur facere impie negligant, simul cum et ipsorum et infantulorum maximo dispendio. Quod si carnalis genitoris incuria infans secundum carnem moriatur, id genitori maximum scelus imputetur: quantum tunc scelus committit is, qui sua

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2 BL patre] SP pre (with macron)] L parente **13** L alumni] BL, SP alumno **14** SP evadet] BL, L evadat **15–16** BL, SP pollicetur] L polliceatur **16** BL quantumque] SP, L quantum **20** BL, SP hac nostra] L hanc nostram

anything that has been fashioned by a [natural] father, who performs a work of the flesh more for his pleasure than for the benefit of offspring.[471] Indeed the guardian, without pleasure to him and even with pain, on fire with the charity of God for the person's salvation, through Christ gives birth to the man once more.

So we see in the primitive church, by the institution of the apostles, infants were not admitted in an unqualified manner to sacred rites, but by this law only, namely that someone would prescribe on trust for them that, when with age they are able to use reason, they will bear the form of Christ before them henceforward in earnest. He who gives surety and is a sponsor will regard it as his responsibility that he teach and educate the boy in that doctrine and customs that he may show himself to be a true Christian by reason of the sacraments. He who is an infant has been marked by the sacred rites that he may be educated in them. Since if it should be that one pledges himself in a holy manner and promises that it will be done on the boy's behalf, then with good hope the holy church adds the little infant to it, so that by the commands and admonitions of the ward he may become a man in the profession of Christ.

See then how great a burden he takes upon himself who promises to be the ward of little children, and how much he takes on that he would answer for an infant; how much, moreover both the parents and the infant himself owe to his ward and guardian provided that in that role he enacts and completes what he has solemnly promised to do. [The infant] owes far more to him, I say, than to the one who begat as his progenitor.

Here also one may observe how, because of the ignorance by this our confusion of times, those who now take on that duty, impiously disregard what they are obliged to do together with the greatest loss both of themselves and of the little children. Yet if an infant were to die in the flesh due to negligence by a fleshly progenitor, it would be imputed to the parent as the greatest crime: how great a crime does he commit who by

[471] The assertion of the guardian's superiority to the natural father is Colet's extrapolation: the child's "spiritual father" and "sponsor of salvation" is to be selected with care by a child's natural parents (DEH 7. 3. 11 [PG 3. 568B]). See also SE 4: "to the extent that the fleshly element enters into marriage its truth of spirit is lessened. In paradise too there was marriage of male and female without carnal union, a sacrament of spiritual coition" ("quatenus in coniugio res carnis sit, tanto veritas spiritus minuitur. Et in paradiso erat maris et femine connubium sine carnali copula, spiritalis coitus sacramentum"), Gleason 288, 289.

negligentia sinit hominem sine fine perire spiritu? Quantus est hic homicida et quanta morte dignus ipse cuius perfidia moritur homo morte sempiterna?

Agnoscat ergo susceptor quisque quis ipse est, et quid spondet, et quod ministerium gerit in christo, atque quantus est pater in ministerio paternitatis dei, qui verus est regenitor omnium quantumque habet, quod prestet
02r in suscepto alumno. Non enim est res pro racione sacrorum | aliquem se in re iustum christianum exhibere, nec qui hoc pro aliquo spondet rem parvam et factu facilem spondet. Quod si ex professo munere et officio faciat, rem gratissimam deo, ipsi infanti utilissimam, iucundissimam parentibus, ecclesie eciam lucrum et sibi ipsi incrementum glorie facit. Sin negligat officium et sinat hominem susceptis sacris abuti, undique tunc sibi mortem et miseriam accumulat sempiternam. Ut est isto susceptore nihil pulchrius nihilque melius nec fructuosius, si fideliter fit in re pro puero quod promittitur, ita quoque eodem certe nihil est nec detrimentosius nec damnabilius, si quod ad sacrum lavachrum promittit pontifici, perfide negligat. Ex quorum incuria, qui sunt quasi ianue ecclesie, in christianam societatem introducti sunt qui nihil preter signa habent christianitatis; unde fit ut sub nomine christiano confluctuatio sit peccatorum, qui sub specioso nomine omne genus exercent feditatis. Cuius horroris et turpitudinis sane in causa sunt vel maxima susceptores illi et sponsores pro pueris, quorum cura commissa est educatio in christo et veritate vivendi parvulorum—quoniam qualis plantatio est talis est arbor, et puerorum qualis est educatio, talis est civitas. Parentes eciam in summa
02v stulticia sunt et partim eciam in causa pestis hu-|ius christiane civitatis, si non circumspecte conquirant et comparent sibi tales susceptores, a quibus rite in christo suos liberos sciunt institui posse. Sacerdotis est eciam perspicacem in hac re oculum habere, uti non admittantur in susceptoris officium, cui commendetur infans, nisi tales qui sunt digni sancti docti et optimi viri, qui quales ipsi sunt, tales parturiant ipsos infantulos, ut sanctum suscepto [. . .] sanctimonia et bonitate referentes tandem in christo digna membra extent et tales qui nec sponsionem susceptoris nec pontificis spem nec denique suscepta sacra fallant.

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7 L inserts [levis] after Non **11** sibi ipsi incrementum] BL, SP sibiipsi incrementum] L sibimet merementum **22** BL, SP cura] L curae **31** BL, SP gap of fifteen spaces after suscepto] L [rem infantes]

his negligence abandons men to die without end in spirit. How great is this homicide and how deserving of death is he by whose faithlessness a man dies to death sempiternal?

Therefore each guardian also must recognize who he is and what he promises and what ministry in Christ he conducts and how great the father is in the ministry of fatherhood of God, the true re-begetter of all, and how much he is responsible for who stands as surety by taking on a wardship. For according to the principle of the sacred rites it is not a matter of showing oneself as some just Christian, nor does he who solemnly vouches for someone vouch something small and easily accomplished. Since if he performs the promised office and duty, he performs a thing most pleasing to God, most useful to the infants, most agreeable to the parents, a gain even for the church, and to himself an increase of glory. But if he should neglect the office and allow a man to abuse the sacred rites, once received, then on all sides he heaps up sempiternal death and misery for himself. Just as there is nothing thereunto more beautiful, nothing better or more fruitful [than] the guardian, if what is promised on behalf of the boy comes off faithfully, so also there is nothing more hurtful or damnable to the same if he should faithlessly neglect what he has promised the pontifex at the sacred washing. From the inattention of those [wards], who are as it were the outer doors of the church, those who have nothing beyond the signs of Christianity have entered into Christian society; whence it happens that under the Christian name there should exist a conflux of sinners, who under a specious name employ every type of filthiness. Of this terror and infamy, those guardians and sponsors of boys, in whose care the education in Christ and the little ones' living in truth has been committed, are actually the greatest cause—seeing that of what sort is the planting such is the tree, and of what sort is the education of boys, such is the city. Parents still exist in the greatest folly and partly [are] the cause of the plague in this Christian city if they do not seek out with care and procure for themselves the type of guardians by whom they know their children capable of becoming rightfully fixed in Christ. It is also characteristic of the priest to keep a watchful eye on this matter so that those to whom an infant is entrusted may not be granted access to the office of guardian unless [they are] such who are worthy, holy, learned, and the best men, who would desire to bring forth little infants of such a kind as they themselves are. So that by having undertaken a holy [...] those renewing by sanctity and goodness must at last stand out as worthy members of Christ and of such a kind as would betray neither the vow of a guardian nor the hope of the pontifex nor finally the sacred rites received.

[H]ec Dionysii vestigia sequuti scripsimus de Ecclesiastica nostra Hierarchia, a cuius pulchra forma longe degeneravimus. Sed deum precamur ipsum formatorem rerum, ut pro sua maxima pietate deformata in nobis reformet. Per dominum nostrum Iesum christum.

Finis eorum que scripsit Ioannes Colet in Ecclesiasticam Hierarchiam Dionysii. 5

5 Finis] Lines added by the red annotating hand

Having followed the footsteps of Dionysius, we have written about our ecclesiastical hierarchy, from whose beautiful form we have far degenerated. But we pray to God, himself the fashioner of things, that through his supreme compassion he may re-form what has been de-formed in us. Through our lord Jesus Christ.

The end of those things John Colet wrote on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius.

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